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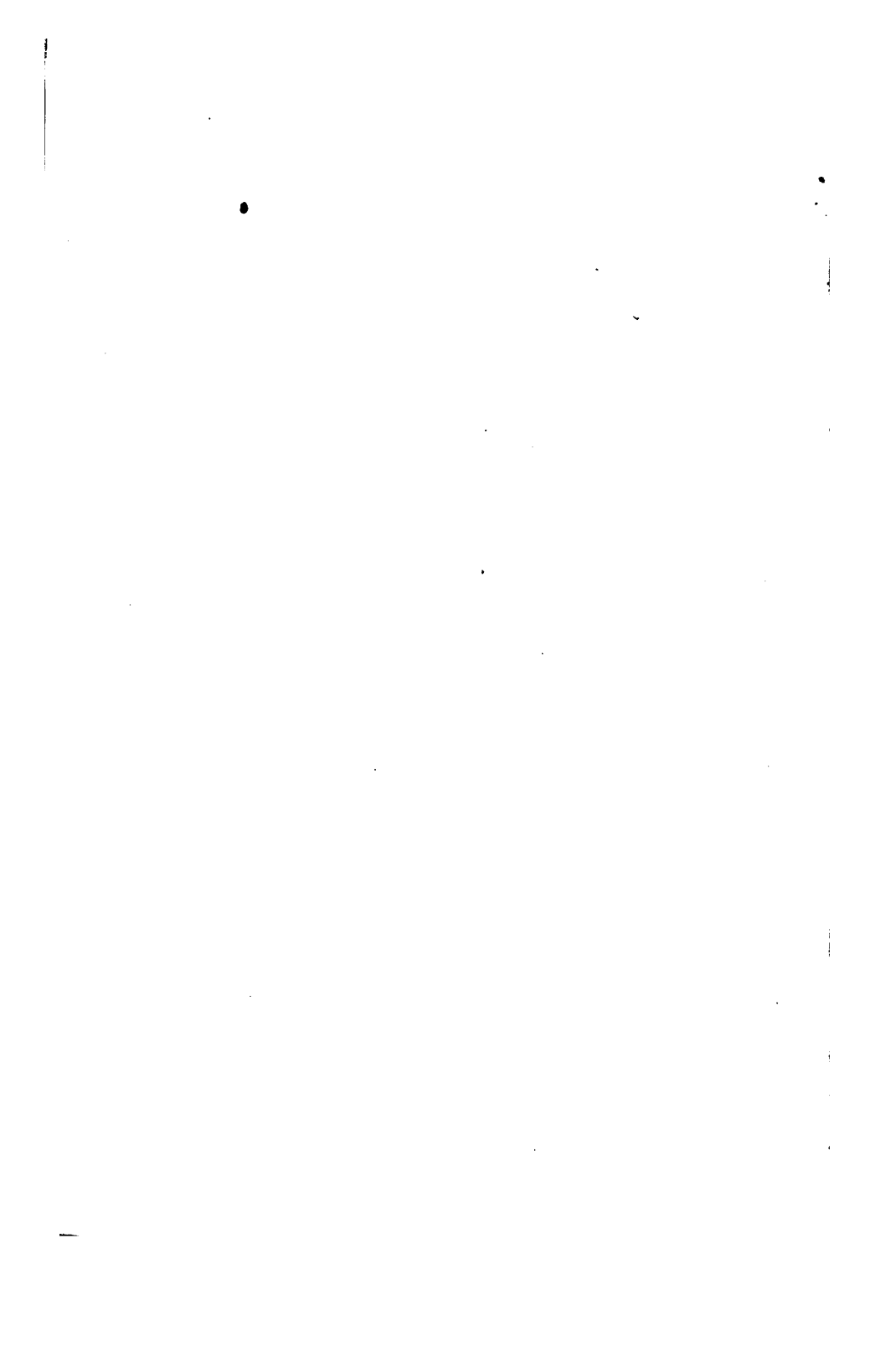
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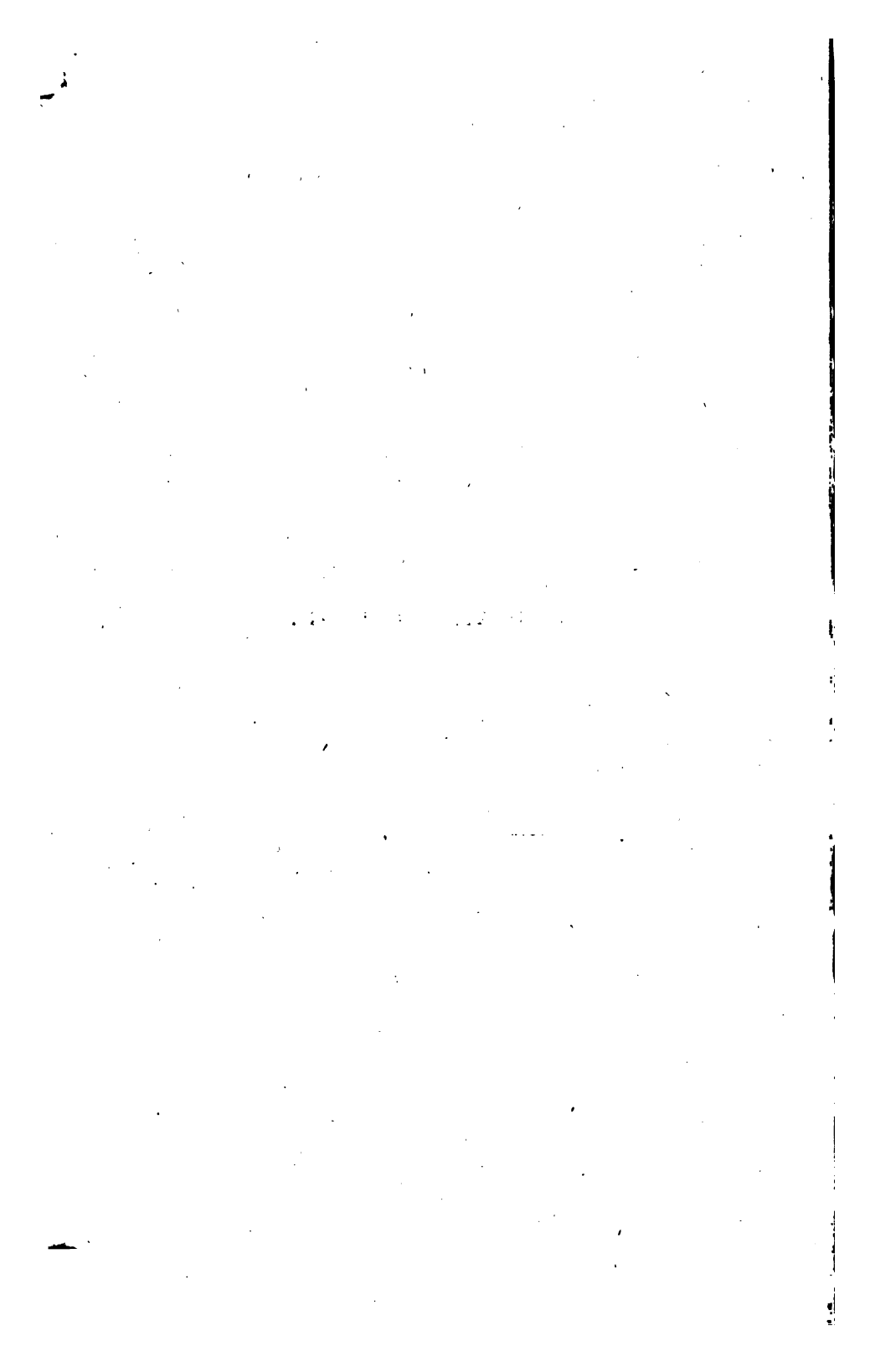


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THE AMERICAN MONITOR.



THE
AMERICAN MONITOR,

A MONTHLY

Political, Historical, and Commercial
MAGAZINE,

PARTICULARLY DEVOTED TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA.

“ Il faut que le monde que vous avez envahi s'affranchisse de celui que vous habitez: alors les mers ne sépareront plus que deux amis, deux frères. Quel mal y aurait-il donc à cet ordre de choses ? ”

RAYNAL.

VOL. II.



LONDON :

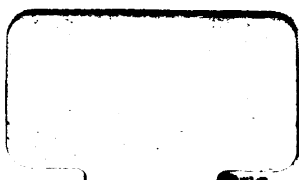
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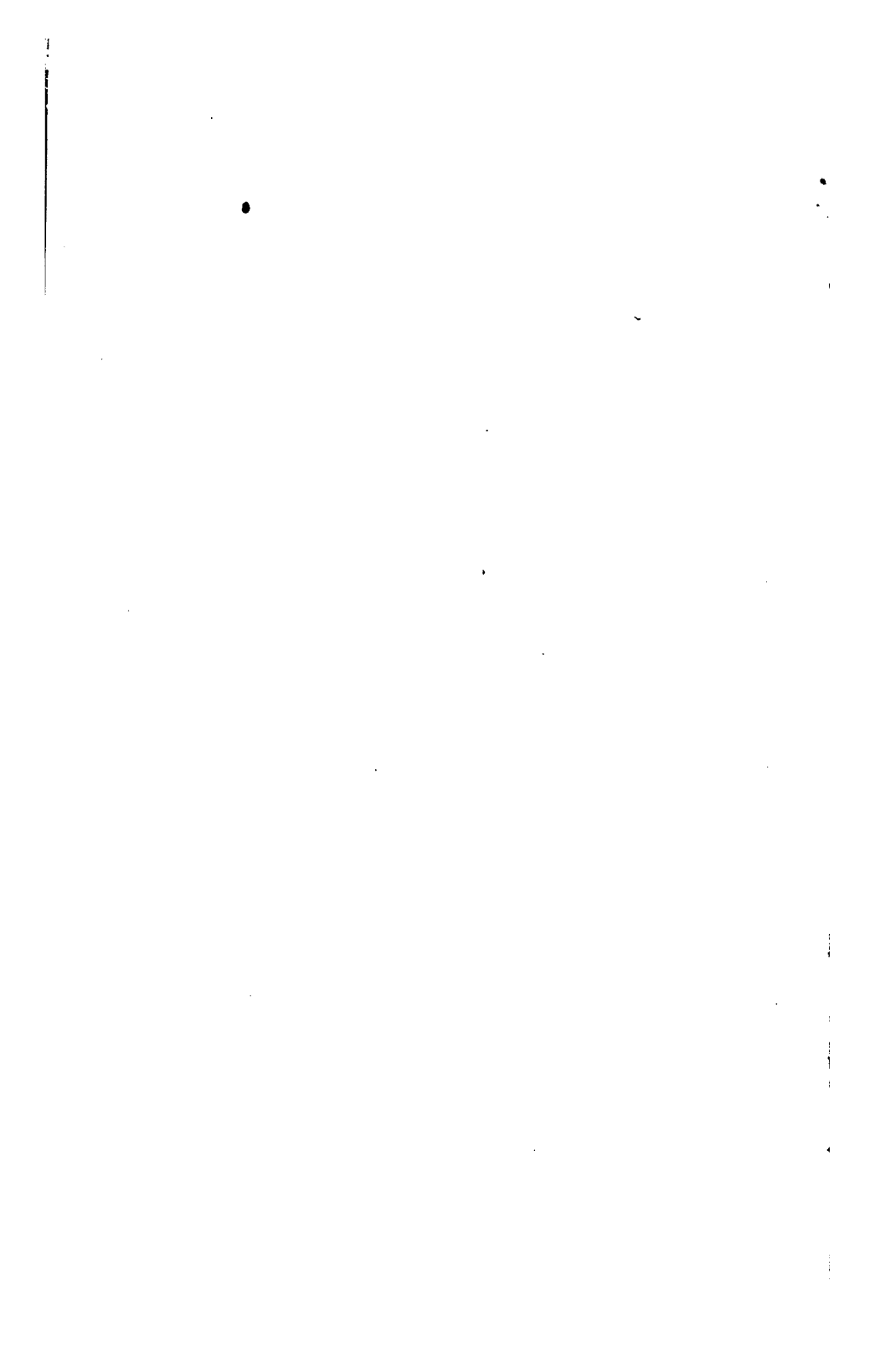
1825.

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THE AMERICAN MONITOR.

dinary measures are taken to defend independence against the views of Spain, and to compel those towns that disregard the pact of union to return to their duty.

The provinces of Guatemala continue to preserve unmolested the sovereignty into which they spontaneously elected themselves. An accredited minister from that government to the republic is now residing in our capital. A favourable opportunity, therefore, presents itself of settling points of great interest. The establishment of limits between Colombia and Guatemala is imperiously called for, in consequence of certain foreigners pretending to a right to the coast of Mosquito, and inasmuch as the interior boundary-line between the countries is not ascertained. The executive, in strict compliance with the law of the 12th of July of the year 1821, has declared that the part of the Atlantic coast which extends from Cape Gracias a Dios to the river Chagrea belongs to the republic, and that all colonization made therein without the sanction of the government and laws of Colombia is null and void. I submit this decree to your judgment, as well as the arguments I have adduced in defence of the integrity of the territory of the republic, and its rights, and in order to frustrate the views of our enemies.

The agitated state of the Brazilian empire has not yet enabled us to form relations of friendship and good understanding with that government, with which we have likewise to arrange questions regarding territorial limits. We are assured of the good disposition of the emperor towards Colombia; and, on our part, we have avoided all cause of complaint and dissension. When the moment shall arrive for negotiating with the Brazilian government, the executive will not fail to observe that frankness and good faith which form the basis of its principles, by conforming to the last territorial treaty made between Spain and Portugal, in Madrid, in 1777.

With the United States we maintain the most friendly and cordial relations. The treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, and commerce, celebrated by the executive with those states, through the medium of duly authorized plenipotentiaries, will be forthwith

laid before you. The principles we have therein adopted are so commendable in their nature, as to render all eulogium superfluous. Never has the government of Colombia appeared more attached to that spirit of civilization and humanity which ought to distinguish the governments of free people, than in this treaty. Colombia will have the laudable pride of having been the first among the states of ancient Spanish America, to appear before the world united by public treaties with the most favoured nation of liberty. You will also examine the convention entered into with these states, for the purpose of putting an end to the horrible traffic in negroes of Africa. Our laws have already forbidden this execrable traffic, and the executive has formed its conduct on their basis. The law of the 21st of July of the year 1811, has forbidden the introduction of slaves; and the provisional cruising ordinances condemn as lawful prizes all vessels trading in African negroes, that may be captured in the waters within the jurisdiction of the republic; but no penalty being awarded for the violation of this law, and it being a justice due to the human race to modify our cruising laws, the executive thinks that these objects have been obtained by our convention with the United States.

To convey a correct idea of our relations with Europe, I deem it incumbent on me to deal frankly, by entering on a detail which will give you this information, and at the same time demonstrate to the world the political principles of the government of Colombia. The commissioners of his Britannic Majesty in this capital requested that the executive would issue the *exequatur* necessary for the recognition of the consuls sent by the king to some of our ports. As no commissions accompanied this application, as is usual and customary, the executive was under the painful necessity of deferring the *exequatur* until these commissions should be duly presented by the several parties, relying on their being framed in the terms usual amongst nations. As soon as the person on whom the title of consul-general had been conferred arrived in this capital, he presented his commission, assuring the executive,

at the same time, that the commissions of the consuls of La Guayra, Maracaibo, Carthagena, and Panama, were conceived in the same terms. The commission makes mention of the provinces of Colombia, instead of *the republic of Colombia*, by which latter title it was determined by our fundamental law, that this country should be known since the year 1819; and the consuls are therein accredited to the authorities that might happen to be established, instead of being accredited to the executive power, or president of the republic, as they ought to have been, agreeably to the principles of public right, to our constitution, and to the conduct observed by the United States. The executive considered these errors as a necessary consequence of that state of ambiguity and practical difficulties, in which the English government found itself placed in treating of the recognition of the independence of Colombia, as was stated to parliament by the ministers of his Britannic Majesty's government: for, in reality, it would have been a manifest contradiction to have accredited consuls to the ports of Colombia in the usual terms, and as the rights of nations demand, without recognizing the independence and existence of the government from which it sought the admission of these officers. The executive did not hesitate in adopting the line of conduct most conformable with the dignity of the republic, and serviceable to the interests of the British nation. Placed in the painful situation of deceiving the republic, by illegally recognizing as duly accredited consuls, persons who did not come recommended to the government of Colombia, and who did not appear destined for the ports of the republic, I did not hesitate to refuse the *exequatur* to their nominations, and caused to be explained to the commissioners of his Britannic Majesty the powerful motives I had for adopting this resolution, assuring them at the same time, that in order to give fresh proof of friendship and goodwill towards the British government and people, I would permit the persons appointed to these consulships to protect the commerce and interests of English subjects in the capacity of agents for the protection of sailors and commerce. The commissioners accepted

these terms with pleasure, without refuting the strong arguments on which my denial of the *exequatur* was grounded. If the congress will call to mind, that in my former message I pledged myself that in the course of the negotiation about to be opened with the commissioners of his Britannic Majesty, I would not lose sight of the dignity of the government, and the interests of the Colombian people, it will perceive by the present statement, that I have strictly redeemed my pledge. Public right does not recognize the admission of consuls as a bounden duty from one nation to another. The obligation so to admit them arises solely from treaties or conventions celebrated between the parties, or from a state of peace and friendship between nations whose independence is reciprocally admitted. This principle, which the English government itself has lately observed towards the consul-general of Buenos-Ayres in London, would have authorized the executive to withhold the *exequatur*, even had the commissions of the consuls been addressed to the republic and government of Colombia. Since this occurrence nothing has transpired in furtherance of the recognition of our independence. The government of his Britannic Majesty makes this event to depend on circumstances peculiar to the interests of Great Britain, and on the nature of the information it may receive from its respective commissioners. But if the government of his Britannic Majesty be guided by the feeling of the English nation, and that the information given respecting the state of Colombia be dictated by justice and impartiality, we may presume that this important decision on the part of the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is at hand.

The commission of the king of the Low Countries has had the same issue. Mr. Quartell arrived in this capital with powers from the governor and rear-admiral of the Island Curaçoa, issued in virtue of positive orders from his government. The commissioner gave us assurances of the favourable sentiments of the king of Holland towards the republic of Colombia and of his desire to establish and cultivate such relations of friendship and commerce as might be useful to both parties. The executive accepted these

demonstrations with gratitude, and, in like manner, gave assurances of the same sentiments towards the kingdom of the Low Countries. The commissioners required the *exequatur* for the consular commissions issued by the governor and rear-admiral of Curaçoa, which the executive denied, on the plea that the nomination to these offices rests with the government from whence they proceed, and not with its subordinate authorities. But as it was necessary to give the Dutch government a proof of the sincerity of our protestations of friendship, I permitted the persons appointed to these consulships to exercise the office of commercial agents, the same as if this informality had not been observed.

The executive has sought, by these means, to reconcile the respect due to the rights of nations and its own dignity and honour with that friendship and harmony which we owe to friendly nations who seek an understanding with us, on behalf of their people, and of universal peace.

The superior authority of Hayti has also accredited to the government of Colombia a public agent, who proposed to celebrate and conclude a treaty of defensive alliance with us, against all invaders of either territories. The language of liberty displayed in the propositions of this agent, and the private services which the Liberator and president received from the humane and sensible Petion, at a calamitous moment, did not blind the executive to the conduct it had to observe in this most delicate negotiation. Hayti had defended its independence against the pretensions of France, of which it formed part, as Colombia now defends hers against those of Spain. A defensive league with Hayti would have subjected us to a war with a nation against whom we have no complaint, and whom we ought not to provoke to hostilities. The interest of the republic consists in diminishing the number of its enemies, whilst the proposed treaty would have increased them, and have taken place precisely under circumstances when the Spanish government is making every effort to compromise France in the war with America. Never can the interests of Hayti and Colombia be identified with respect to their ancient metropolises.

A sympathy, indeed, prevails in this particular, between Colombia and those states of America which formerly depended on Spain, and it is on this account that the government of the republic has promoted and concluded a confederation among the new American states. The treaties existing between these and ourselves, prevent us, by their very nature, from entering into alliances with countries which have not belonged to the Spanish nation ; and a defensive alliance with Hayti would arouse a new enemy against our allies without their knowledge or consent. You know, gentlemen, that the eastern part of the island of St. Domingo belonged to France, in virtue of the treaty of Basilea, and that it was afterwards restored to Spain by the treaty of Paris : that in the year 1822 the inhabitants of St. Domingo proclaimed their independence ; that in the last days of their political existence they raised the Colombian standard ; and that the Chief of Hayti has reduced this territory to his dominion, for reasons that are not accurately known, although its fundamental law is urged as a pretext. It does not seem that the conduct of the president of Hayti ought to draw on him the enmity of Spain, which is the only nation with which we are at war ; because, when the authorities of Hayti occupied that part of the island which was formerly Spanish, they did not take possession of a Spanish territory, but of an independent country, which had manifested a wish to place itself under the protection of Colombia. All these considerations have induced the executive to refer the proposition of the Haytian agent to the united assembly of the plenipotentiaries of the American governments. France and our allies will observe in this proceeding the principles and good policy of the Colombian government ; the former, especially, must perceive that we act with sincerity and good intentions, in the steps we have taken to incline his Most Christian Majesty in favour of the republic, and that we do not attribute to the French government the suspicious and treacherous conduct displayed by those persons who arrived here in the frigate *Tarm*, and whose voyage seems to have had for its object a visit to the country merely to pry into the state of our affairs.

The tranquillity enjoyed by the republic has enabled the executive to make arrangements for the extension of the new method of instruction in the first rudiments of learning, for increasing the number of scholars, establishing new professorships, and reforming some colleges which still languished under the ancient colonial system of education, and the horrors of the war. The progress of public education must be necessarily slow, whilst the funds of the colleges continue so small as they are at present; and perhaps, we might mistrust the benefit of the establishments that have been founded, did we not observe the youth of the country eager to learn, and the teachers devoting themselves to public instruction, without other incentive than their own zeal and respect for their characters. I hope that, in the course of this session, time will be found for digesting a general plan of study, the want of which is every day more sensibly felt.

The project of laws for the political and judicial administration of departments, which were laid before the executive at the close of the last session, will be returned to you, with such objections as thereto seem to me expedient. I will not assert that such objections will render these important laws perfect, but your intelligence and the time that will be afforded you for their deliberate discussion, inspire me with a confidence that your labours will make them so, and that their utility will be acknowledged throughout the republic. The executive is persuaded that these two laws will correct the errors which exist in the government of departments, and will partially improve the administration of justice, by making it a positive and substantial blessing to the people who complain with much reason of the extensive jurisdiction embraced by the only three tribunals of appeal which we possess, and of the circumscribed power of the municipalities. But that this blessing may be rendered complete, it is absolutely necessary to issue a law respecting the revenues of corporation lands, since the health, convenience, and ornament of our towns, the state of the roads, and the facilities of communication, require certain funds, without which, the municipalities will be mere ciphers in the state.

I may state to you, that in general no unfavourable change has occurred in the progress and regularity of the constitutional regime. The authorities daily respect our institutions more and more ; and the citizens enjoy the free privilege of demanding the fulfilment of the laws. It would indeed be a phenomenon in politics, if an infant society like ours could arrive at its height of prosperity without obstacles and slight oscillations. Colombia has still to experience the effects of the wanderings of ignorance and the incessant intrigues of our enemies ; although it is true, that neither can impede her advance to that point at which she must one day arrive. The disturbances in Pasto, which, from the nature of the country, and the character of the people, threatened to be of long duration, have subsided ; and the government has visited them with as much indulgence as was compatible with public security. That activity and vigilance which suffocated this germ of disunion, will do the same on all occasions where deluded persons suffer themselves to be seduced into the commission of disorders. The people desire to live in peace under protection of the laws, and whilst they themselves take charge of the public tranquillity, and support our institutions, the republic will enjoy internal quiet, and the standing army will have fewer duties to discharge.

Our internal commerce requires some regulations, in order to suppress the abuses committed by our sailors, and to protect navigation ; and our commerce carried on with the coasts inhabited by wandering tribes, requires some special laws, in order to spare the executive those embarrassments which it has experienced in this particular of late years. I require from congress a law denying letters of citizenship to individuals of any nation with whom the republic may be at war. This is a law to be found in the code of a nation that may be truly called free, and any demonstration of its necessity appears to me superfluous.

The exhaustion of the national treasury will continue to be sensibly felt whilst the payment of arrears falls on the annual revenue, and the system continues to prevail of not fixing the public ex-

penses, and providing correspondent funds for meeting them. To those causes of fiscal embarrassment may be added at present, the necessity we have been under of increasing the standing army, with a view of opposing a vigorous resistance to the hostile undertakings of Spain. I cannot give you an accurate idea of the improvement that has been made in the treasury department, in virtue of the laws issued in the last session, owing to the short period that has elapsed since their publication. The executive has given that tone and impulse that were so essentially wanted in the general administration, the custom-houses, and treasuries of departments, always consulting, however, the strictest economy. I hope that in the course of the present legislature, you will digest a systematic arrangement of the tithe-rents, a reform in the law of direct contribution, and such other objects as the executive will point out to you in virtue of the privilege it derives from the constitution to that effect.

The various and unpleasant questions that were agitated regarding the loan of March, 1822, have been set at rest in a manner satisfactory to the parties, and honourable to the republic. For this purpose, the executive had recourse to the powers granted by you in the act of the 1st of July, 1823, and the result shall be in due time laid before you. The congress must be highly gratified in learning that our conduct in this transaction has met with the general approbation of those respectable persons in foreign countries who were best able to appreciate the difficulties which enveloped it.

I shall likewise give you a most circumstantial account of the mode and the terms on which the loan decreed on the 30th of June of last year has been raised. To those who are acquainted with the histories of other nations, the conditions of this loan have appeared highly favourable. The executive has observed, that its agents have confined themselves to the instructions they received on leaving the capital: their operations have been conducted under the eye and direction of the Colombian minister in London, and the conduct of this public functionary has obtained the applause

of all who have observed him narrowly. It has been a source of great satisfaction to the executive, that the new loan was not negotiated until the question of the old one had been satisfactorily disposed of : and the consequence was, that the former was contracted under most favourable circumstances, which, by having been taken advantage of at the moment, saved us from the burdensome conditions to which we must otherwise have submitted. You will examine the documents which will be presented to you with accuracy and discretion, and you will receive all the necessary information thereon from the secretary of the treasury, since in this examination are comprised the interests of our constituents, the honour of the government, and the good faith of the republic. I can congratulate myself, by anticipation, with the assurance that the congress and the nation will be well pleased with this transaction.

It is essential to the public prosperity and national credit, that you employ a portion of your labours in funding the national debt. Every year that passes accumulates fresh embarrassments in this particular for the succeeding ones. The debt embraces various periods, objects and creditors, without a proper classification of each. You know well that it is absolutely necessary that a classification of those periods be made, as well as provision for the punctual payment of the interest, and the gradual extinction of the principal. Although a law on this subject was passed last session, you will agree with me in thinking that it is imperfect and informal.

The standing army continues to give proofs of its obedience to the laws. Although no enemies are to be found within the republic with whom to contend, it has remained on the war footing required by the state of European politics. The executive has carried into effect so much of the law which provided for the levying fifty thousand men as was necessary in order to reinforce the auxiliary army of Peru, to cover the coast departments, and to organize several corps of reserve in the interior.

Orders have been given for forming the national militia

throughout the country, on the principle laid down by the congress of Cucuta, insomuch that several corps of citizens, who recognize the defence of the country as their first duty, are now added to our battalions. You will examine the provisional decrees which the executive has issued for the due observance of the law on this subject, and will establish a permanent system for the national militia in all the branches and objects of its organization. These measures, and the abundant elements of war which we possess, have placed the republic in a condition to present itself armed at all points, in defence of its liberty and independence.

Our naval force is undergoing that improvement and increase, which, in our immediate circumstances, it requires. The Colombian flag has made itself respected throughout the seas; and where it has encountered that of Spain, it has left a monument of the superiority which it derives from the valour of its sailors. The executive has adopted measures for fixing the strength of our navy, as well on our rivers and coasts as on the high seas, and for laying aside such vessels as occasion immense expenses, without being of the slightest service. Little, however, can be done in this department, unless education be encouraged among our naval officers, and until the laws to which I have elsewhere referred be enforced. Naval instruction is taught in Carthagena and Guayaquil, as far as the small funds which the executive can supply for this purpose will permit; but it can make but little progress until warmly protected by congress. Having already represented the state of the army to congress in my former messages, pointing out such laws as appeared to me necessary and just, I shall content myself with naming the subject, in the hope that during the present session you will take this interesting object into your consideration.

Such is the state of our republic in the various branches of its administration; possessing friendship and good intelligence with American and foreign governments; regularity in its conventions and treaties; order and tranquillity at home; respect and submission to the laws; free exercise of the liberty of the press; the dissemination and advancement of public education; well-founded hopes

of improvement in the state of our treasury ; an army covered with laurels, and zealously devoted to the cause of independence and liberty ; together with sufficient resources for supporting, under every event, our dignity, our government, and our laws. It belongs to you, gentlemen, to remove such obstacles as impede the rapid march of the republic to its height of prosperity, and to reform those errors which the public voice and your own judgments condemn. If we take a retrospective view, and contemplate what Colombia was when she published her code, we shall recognize with surprise the grand career we have since run, and the enormous difficulties we have surmounted. This reflection should animate us to persevere with zeal, honour, and patriotism in the exercise of our respective faculties. The executive has reason to expect these virtues from the representatives who compose the legislative assemblies, and you may rely confidently on receiving from me such assistance as my experience in the administration may enable me to afford ; and above all, the strictest punctuality in the execution of your wise resolves.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER.

Bogota, Jan. 2, 1825—15.

BUENOS-AYRES.

ADDRESS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF BUENOS-AYRES, TO THE NEW NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Senors,—It has been the fortune of the province of Buenos Ayres to receive you as our guests ; and this circumstance allows its government the honour of congratulating the national representation of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, on the day on which it is installed. The people hope that this day will be a day of festivity to them and to their posterity ; but this hope imposes from this day a responsibility on you. If the recollection of past

misfortunes, and the idea, perhaps exaggerated, of present difficulties, terrify you, at entering on the arduous task of re-organizing the nation, you will quickly see that prudence can take advantage of the treasures of acquired experience, and form a strict alliance with the invincible power of time. This ancient friend of holy truth appeared to have renewed his wings and his arms in the great struggle of the human race, against its oppressors, of which we are witnesses. Let truth appear, and those who act the despot in the name of heaven, or in the name of the people, will be quickly known. As soon as they are known, liberty triumphs; and the compact of the national union is formed. This compact will unalterably exist, or will change, if public reason dictates, without changing the friendship which exists among nations, or coming accompanied with desolation and ruin, for reasons sufficient for all, when men in society enjoy the right of examination and the freedom of thinking.

The province of Buenos-Ayres has made a happy trial of this truth during the long period of disunion which has preceded this. Without its support we should not to-day have witnessed the realization of the difficult object proposed in accelerating the meeting of the national congress; nor would its government have been able to maintain for so long a time such relations with foreign states in the name of the other provinces, as were indispensable to ward off the blows which their enemies unceasingly directed against them, and not to discourage their friends with the idea of a complete dissolution. That government terminates to-day such honourable functions, placing in your hands, as it does, the collection of the documents relative to business of a general nature in which it has interposed since the year 1820. These documents will completely inform you of the principles which it adopted to prepare the national re-organization, its conduct with respect to the independent states of the American continent, and the actual state of its relations with European powers.

As regards the first, it proceeded on the conviction that it is not

possible to form a solid government which is not purely national. General interest only can serve as a bond for the union of the provinces. Authorities founded on prejudices sprung up in times of barbarism, and yet may subsist and be useful amongst civilized communities, because personal interests, successively collected and consolidated into great masses by time, may reach the point of becoming almost national; but to create, at the present moment, an authority on such a basis in these provinces, is as impossible as it would be to condense the events of many ages into a single day.

Public opinion is so decided upon this point, that no error can be feared, except in the specification of general interests. No example will be able to lead us to prefer, as the best means of government the false superiorities which spring from privileges, to the real superiorities which depend upon personal merit: but it may happen that legal provisions and prohibitions may be considered as the productive means of riches and national prosperity. This fatal error would banish from our territory the free competition of industry of men belonging to the whole world.

You will easily recognize the importance of dissipating with a vigorous hand prevailing illusions on this capital object. You who, without hitherto possessing, like old nations, any thing which can impede your progress in social science, feel yourselves called upon to apply to the virgin soil the most powerful instrument which is known to people and enrich it, are likewise in a happy condition to establish a law which will be registered one day in the code of nations. By the side of the law for securing individual liberty, freedom of thought, the inviolability of property, equality in the eye of the law open the free competition of industry to all men in the territory of the United Provinces. This law will be a consequence of the rights of men in society—it will strengthen the vital principle of union among the provinces—it will extinguish the seeds of jealousy and prejudice which may agitate them—and, finally, it will destroy the necessity for treaties of commerce, which, being the offspring of ignorance, have

given occasion to wars, bloody in themselves, and useless to the conquerors.

At least, gentlemen, the government of Buenos Ayres has a right to expect that you will not disapprove of the analogous policy which it has followed to nationalize the provinces of the ancient union. The laws which have been dictated with this spirit—the consolidation of the national debt—the creation of public credit—the projects which have sprung up under its protection to promote enterprises of industry in the provinces—all this has produced salutary effects, excites great hopes, and presents a basis of union which public opinion has hitherto sought with anxiety.

The examination of the official correspondence will show you the care which the government of Buenos Ayres has exerted to preserve a good understanding, and to draw closer the bonds of friendship with those nations of the continent who fight for the common cause. A just correspondence, and motives of high national interest, require the mission of a minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia. The situation of Peru since its last misfortunes rendered necessary the nomination of another minister to that government; but both those ministers must now receive new credentials from the general power of the united provinces.

We have fulfilled a great national duty with the republic of the United States of North America. That republic, which since its origin, stands at the head of the civilization of the New World, has solemnly recognized our independence. It has, at the same time, made an appeal to our national honour, supposing us capable of contending single-handed with the Spanish power; but it has constituted itself as guardian of the field of battle, in order not to permit the introduction of any third party to aid our rival.

The neighbouring empire of Brazil exhibits a contrast with this noble republic, and forms a deplorable exception to the general policy of American nations. The province of Monte Vides, separated from the rest of our provinces, by the most ignoble

artifices, and retained under the weight of arms, is a scandal which is made more odious by the appearance of legality in which it endeavours to conceal the usurpation. The government of the provinces of Buenos Ayres has tried the means of reason with the court of Janeiro; and although its efforts have been hitherto ineffectual, still it does not despair. Perhaps the counsel of powerful friends may bring it to listen to reason, and remove from the coasts of America the fatal necessity of war.

The vacillation of some of the great powers of the European continent, and the malevolence which others show towards the new republics of this part of the world, arise from the constrained position in which they are placed by a policy inconsistent with the nature of things. Kings can possess neither force nor power, except by means which the perfection of social order presents. They know very well the extent and advantage of those means; but, frightened with the movements which they see around their throne, they endeavour to return to their past immobility. They would desire that truth and error should form an alliance to strengthen their authority. Thence has sprung the inexplicable dogma of legitimacy, which now torments the nations of ancient Europe, and for the propagation of which the Holy Alliance was formed. It is therefore difficult that this alliance should recognize, as legitimate, governments whose origin is not obscure, and whose authority is supported not upon prodigies, but upon the simple and natural rights of nations. But it will not be just on that account to fear that the soldiers of the Holy Alliance intend to traverse the Atlantic on purpose to establish here the odious legitimacy of the Catholic King.

Great Britain, released from compromises with the allies, has adopted towards the states of America a noble conduct worthy of the most civilized, most free, and, on this account, the most powerful nation of Europe. The solemn recognition of the independence of the new republic will be a consequence of the principles she has proclaimed. And you may believe, Senors, that

this important event, as far as relates to the provinces of the Plata, depends chiefly on their showing themselves bound in a national union, and with the capacity of maintaining the good institutions they already possess.

The Catholic King has annulled the preliminary convention which his commissioners concluded with the government of this province, and through its intervention with most of the union, on the 4th of July last year. He has declared that the language which he employed as the king of a free people, is not, and cannot be, his own. But his absolute authority is a curse to Spain, and his name only passes to this part of the world to serve the interests of some chiefs, who make war on their own account in the interior provinces of Peru, like the adventurers who first conquered it.

But for the unfortunate dissensions which have crippled the provinces of La Plata, this war would have been ended. It has compromised too long the honour of the allied republics of the continent, but every thing announces that it approaches the hour of its termination. Already the illustrious Liberator of Colombia hastens victorious towards the very centre of the power of the oppressors of Peru. The republic of Chili has moved its naval forces to close the Pacific against them; and the government of this province, uniting its efforts to those of Salta, prepares the elements which may serve as a basis to the national power for a more extended plan of operations.

Such is the situation of the general business at this moment. We enjoy favourable auspices. If they are realized, the year which approaches will see an end of the war, and the commencement of the national existence of the provinces of Rio de la Plata.

(Signed)

JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS HERAS.
MANUEL JOSE GARCIA.

MEXICO.

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY GUADALUPE VICTORIA, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO, TO THE SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT CONGRESS GENERAL, UPON TAKING THE OATH REQUIRED BY THE 101ST ARTICLE OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Sir,—I this day approach the sanctuary of the laws, guided by a holy and religious respect for the will of my fellow-citizens. I am irresolute, fearing for the interests of my country, and impressed with the many obligations which I owe her, considering that the least deserving Mexican is called to the first and most important public charge of a great, illustrious, and generous people.

I had the happiness of seeing liberty established—of seeing the ultimate success and redemption of my country. Long since have I had in view the illustrious patriots, who, with their blood, their talents, and their sufferings, broke the chain of three centuries, thereby bringing into existence an heroic nation, and leaving to posterity their glory, their name, and their example. These men ever followed the path of virtue—they were ever the objects of my veneration and regard—and I considered them entitled, by justice and gratitude, to preside over the republic. Far from depreciating the character of these heroes, whose great services secured them the love of their country, I did justice to their merit, and admired their talents, so well calculated for administration.

Obedying, as I always have until now, the voice of the law, which comes from the representatives of a free nation, I was ready to suffer even death in defence of the virtuous Mexican elected by our votes and hearts. If the remembrance of the unalterable constancy with which I always maintained our national dignity is pleasing; also, of the sacrifices (small indeed) which I made in the best of causes; I will say, that my most ardent wish always has been to mark my character and political faith with submission

to the supreme authority, firm adherence to just principles, and deference to the public voice.

A strict obedience, proceeding from my sense of duty, makes me accept an office which the laws forbid me to refuse. This sacred investiture of power should have been to some more experienced subject, who would have consummated the great and immortal work of your wisdom.

I cannot express my gratitude towards the United States of Mexico; I have been meditating it ever since the hour in which I was informed, that by the spontaneous suffrage of my fellow-citizens, the great weight of public administration rested upon my weak shoulders. Thus situated, I have invoked the protection of the Eternal and Sovereign Dispenser of all good, that he might heap his blessings upon the great nation that has honoured me with its confidence, that he might lead me towards its aggrandizement through the paths of justice.

Fathers of our country! depositaries of the public favour! such are my sentiments in your august presence. The oath which I shall this day pronounce, will ever be renewed before God, before man, and posterity.

However, I will represent to all my fellow-citizens, that the bark of our state has to encounter a heavy and tempestuous sea—that the vigilance and strength of the pilot cannot overcome the fury of the winds—that her hull is not sound, and darkness not removed from our northern star. Dangers are numerous; our circumstances precarious, and nothing but the wisdom and prudence of the representatives of the nation, aided by the ruler of our destinies, can pilot our bark to the port of our happiness.

The great constitutional chart, the anchor of our hopes, defends the powers and guides the auxiliaries of government. The effects of the administration which this day begins, will be attributed to the wisdom of the sovereign constituent congress of Mexico—to the politics of the future chamber of representatives—to the skill and prudence of the honourable members of congress—finally, to the enlightened government and authorities.

For my part, I will always respect right, and see duty fulfilled. Our holy religion will neither wear the mournful garb of superstition, nor shall she be exposed to licentiousness. Independence shall be sealed with my blood, and liberty lost but with my life. The union between all the inhabitants of the republic will be firm and unalterable—persons and property shall be sacred—and thus public confidence be established. The form of federal government adopted by the nation must be maintained with all the vigour of the laws. The nation shall be enlightened, and sound morals diffused throughout our territory : its strongest support shall be the liberty of the press.

My care and vigilance will be directed towards the organization and discipline of the army, and due regard for the soldiers of the state—objects which are as interesting as independence itself. The Mexican flag shall float on the ocean, and over our shores. Friendly relations with foreign powers will be cultivated, with the attention required by our political existence, and by the good name of the Mexican states. Nor shall any means of prosperity and greatness be neglected.

As your representative, my inexperience will, probably, be the cause of many errors ; but never, never, shall they be intentional ; I therefore beg your indulgence.

Such are the dictates of my heart—such my principles. May I perish a thousand times over, if ever I deviate from them, or blast the hopes of my country !

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF JOHN QUINCEY ADAMS, PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES.

In compliance with an usage coeval with the existence of our federal constitution, and sanctioned by the example of my predecessors in the career upon which I am about to enter, I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself by the solemnities of religious obligation to the faithful

performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called.

In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that constitution, which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers, and prescribes the duties of the executive magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the government instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted:—to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this union, in their successive generations. Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of the most eminent men who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated men, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all; it has, to an extent far beyond the ordinary lot of human nature, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labours, to transmit the same unimpaired to the succeeding generation.

In the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws, enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers, and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenue and expenditures, and to the military force of the union, by land and sea. A co-

ordinate department of the judiciary has expounded the constitution and the laws ; settling, in harmonious coincidence with the legislative will, numerous weighty questions of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of Jubilee, since the first formation of our union, is just elapsed ; that of the declaration of our independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution.

Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve ; a territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended from sea to sea ; new states have been admitted to the union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation ; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth ; the people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings ; the forest has fallen by the axe of our woodsmen ; the soil has been made to teem by the tillage of our farmers ; our commerce has whitened every ocean ; the dominion of man over physical nature has been extended by the invention of our artists ; liberty and law have marched hand in hand ; all the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectively as under any other government on the globe ; and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditure of other nations in a single year.

Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition, under a constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights. To admit that this picture has its shades, is but to say that it is still the condition of men upon earth. From evil, physical, moral, and political, it is not our claim to be exempt. We have suffered, sometimes by the visitation of heaven, through disease ; often by the wrongs and injustice of other nations, even to the extremities of war ; and lastly, by dissensions among ourselves—dissensions, perhaps, inseparable from the enjoyment of freedom, but which have, more than once, appeared to threaten the dissolution of the

union, and with it, the overthrow of all the enjoyments of our present lot, and all our earthly hopes of the future. The causes of these dissensions have been various : founded upon differences of speculation in the theory of republican governments—upon conflicting views of policy in our relations with foreign nations—upon jealousies of partial and sectional interests, aggravated by prejudices and prepossessions which strangers to each other are ever apt to entertain.

It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to me, to observe that the great result of this experiment upon the theory of human rights has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty—all have been promoted by the government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time, looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may, at once, indulge in grateful exultation, and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feeling of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of this government ; and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first went into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies, which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years, during which the policy of the union, in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our

federal government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted: From that time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment, or legislative debate. Our political creed is without a dissenting voice than can be heard. That the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end of all the legitimate governments upon earth—that the best security for the beneficence, and the best guarantee against the abuse of power, consist in the freedom, the purity, and the frequency of popular elections—that the general government of the union, and the separate governments of the states, are all sovereignties of limited powers, fellow servants of the same masters, uncontrolled within their respective spheres, uncontrollable by encroachments upon each other; that the firmest security of peace is the preparation, during peace, of the defences of war; that a rigorous economy, and accountability of public expenditures should guard against the aggravation, and alleviate, when possible, the burden of taxation; that the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power; that the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate; that the policy of our country is peace, and the ark of our salvation union—are articles of faith upon which we are all now agreed. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, those doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the union, they have been scattered to the winds. If there have been dangerous attachments to one foreign nation, and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and

blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion. There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other; of embracing as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which, in times of contention for principles, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.

The collisions of party spirit, which originate in speculative opinions, or in different views of administrative policy, are in their nature transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life, are more permanent, and therefore, perhaps, more dangerous. It is this which gives inestimable value to the character of our government, at once federal and national. It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike, and with equal anxiety, the rights of each individual state in its own government, and the rights of the whole nation in that of the union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the union, or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the state governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity, or of foreign powers, is of the resort of this general government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the state governments is the inviolable duty of that of our union; the government of every state will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices, every where too commonly entertained against distant strangers, are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed by the composition and functions of the great national councils, annually assembled from all quarters of the union at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom

they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and to do justice to the virtues of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted; and the whole union is knit together by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts, in the performance of their service at this metropolis.

Passing from this general review of the purposes and injunctions of the federal constitution, and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honour of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of its policy, in general concurrence with the will of the legislature, have been to cherish peace, while preparing for defensive war; to yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own; to cherish the principles of freedom and of equal rights, wherever they were proclaimed; to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt; to reduce, within the narrowest limits of efficiency, the military force; to improve the organization and discipline of the army; to provide and sustain a school of military science; to extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation; to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes; and to proceed in the great system of internal improvements within the limits of the constitutional power of the union. Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen at the time of his first induction to this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced, and its constitution revised and perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public monies has been made more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to

the Pacific Ocean ; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognized, and recommended by example and by counsel to the potentates of Europe ; progress has been made in the defence of the country by fortifications, and the increase of the navy, towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves ; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind ; in exploring the interior regions of the union ; and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my immediate predecessor, the line of duty for his successor is clearly delineated. To pursue, to their consummation, those purposes of improvement in our common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations.

To the topic of internal improvement, emphatically urged by him at his inauguration, I recur with peculiar satisfaction. It is that from which I am convinced that the unborn millions of our posterity, who are, in future ages, to people this continent, will derive their most fervent gratitude to the founders of the union ; that, in which the beneficent action of its government will be the most deeply felt and acknowledged. The magnificence and splendour of their public works are among the imperishable glories of the ancient republics. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages, and have survived thousands of years after all her conquests have been swallowed up in despotism, or become the spoil of barbarians. Some diversity of opinion has prevailed with regard to the powers of congress for legislation upon objects of this nature. The most respectful deference is due to doubts, originating in pure patriotism, and sustained by venerated authority. But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced: the authority for its construction was then questioned. To how many thousands of our country has it proved a benefit ? To what single individual has it ever proved an injury ? Repeated liberal and

candid discussions in the legislature have conciliated the sentiments and approximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope that, by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the general government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowledged to the common satisfaction of all; and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

Fellow citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence, in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence. Intentions, upright and pure; a heart devoted to the welfare of our country; and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me to her service, are all the pledges that I can give for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective state governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal, I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service. And knowing that, except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain, with fervent supplications for his favour, to his overruling providence I commit with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country.

The American Monitor.

ON THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS.

"A state wisely composed of three different orders, derives its union from the agreement of the most various elements; and what is called harmony in music, is union in the social order; the strongest and best pledge of the public safety, but which it is impossible to preserve without justice."—CICERO.

"La place naturelle de la vertu est auprès de la liberté; mais elle ne se trouve pas plus auprès de la liberté extrême qu'auprès de la servitude."—MONTESQUIEU.

The political existence of the American states which are rising upon the ruins of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies, consists of three distinct eras which claim particular attention. The first era, in the life of each state, is its birth, or period of separation from the mother-country, and the struggle inseparably connected with it; the second relates to the consolidation of the revolution, by the internal organization which is its consequence and completion; and the third is its introduction into the general social order of the world, arising from its recognition by the other states, and is, in fact, its legitimation, the title which confers upon it its political existence in society.

The first condition, in respect to America, is completed: her internal and external struggle is at an end: her foreign enemies have ceased to exist, and can never again rise to disturb her tranquillity. England greets

each of her independent states with the name of nation, and her eventual recognition by the other powers of the globe, with whatever various degrees of opposition or reluctance, is yet considered with the certainty of geometrical demonstration by every one who forms a correct estimate of the present state of the world.

The undivided solicitude of South America is, therefore, due to the second period of her life, or to the choice of those organic institutions which are to constitute her form of government, and upon which depend her national existence, her happiness and future prosperity.

The fate of America is now in her own hands; and nothing will henceforth counteract the brilliant destinies which await her, if she accomplish the difficult work of her political organization, with the magnanimity and firmness with which she has effected her independence.

But, after the powerful efforts of an immense population in their struggle for liberty; after the development of every means, and the suspension of every inclination or habit, to secure its acquisition; and, after the success which is followed by the exultation of victory;—the moderation, which knows how to stop at the precise point where liberty ends and licentiousness begins, has ever been considered a virtue of arduous and uncommon attainment. And, indeed, nations have, at all times, found it more easy to overcome the oppression of tyranny, than to confine their rights, after victory, within limits conformable to their genius, their wants, and the relative situation of surrounding states. Hence, the destructive errors, the absurd laws, the

contradictions, and all the fatal instances of reaction which, from the very origin of society, have attended revolutions sanctioned by every principle of justice, and yet sometimes most disastrous in their consequences.—This, however, will not be the fate of the new American states; they will not, under the influence of mere abstract views, plunge themselves into the abyss in which so many nations have perished. They will learn wisdom from the experience of every age, and without the admonitory retrospection of the catastrophes which marked the fate of Greece and Rome, the events which have taken place in Europe within a less period than the last half century, will offer to the consideration of America a lesson which, if well studied, will be more than sufficient to consolidate ten republics.—America, like the rest of the world, has beheld the most justifiable revolutions become, by the abuse of principles, a source of disorders and crimes, at which human nature shudders; and the French, the mildest people in Europe, releasing themselves from the fetters of the most oppressive aristocracy, have been seen immediately submitting to the dominion of a sanguinary democracy, and at last relapsing into the torpor of despotism. America, within a period still more recent, has witnessed the two European peninsulas impelled towards liberty by the power of civilization, and almost immediately hurled back into the most ignominious slavery, by the folly of men who, ignorant of the real situation of their country, perceived not that the influence of manners over liberty, is not less powerful than that of laws; and that it became necessary to sap the foundation of tyranny, previously to the effort which aimed at

its subversion. America sees the humiliating degradation to which the violence of all parties have reduced the continent of Europe, after so many useless experiments, and under circumstances so favourable to the establishment of a rational liberty. With such facts before her eyes, what more can she require to direct her political education, and to induce her to adopt a constitution founded upon this great principle of Plato, that "Tyranny springs from licentiousness, as its natural source."

But, what constitution is best calculated to cement the national independence, and the civil liberty of the Americans? The importance of this question and the magnitude of the interests inseparable from it, demand the most serious consideration. Its solution requires an appeal to first principles; not to those idle theories which time has exploded, but to those great essential principles, sanctioned by the authority of ages, and of all the societies that ever existed. We will, now, apply these general principles to the local circumstances of the American states, and, in a second article, we will examine to what extent the institutions which some of them have already adopted, are contrary to the spirit of these principles, as well as to that of the legislative doctrines of the contemporary nations the most wisely and powerfully constituted.

Cicero admits three forms of government of a beneficial tendency, and three of an opposite and destructive nature; but he considers none of the first description as perfectly good: he prefers to all of them those which, by a wise mixture, blend the advantage of each. "What I approve," says he, "is, that there should exist in the state, an eminent and

royal *, principle; that one portion of power should be acquired and entrusted to the patricians; and that another should be assigned to the decision and will of the multitude. This constitution has not only a prominent character of equality essential to the existence of every free people; it offers also the advantage of great stability. When the first elements to which I allude are isolated, their nature is easily impaired, and they fall into the opposite extreme, so that the king is succeeded by the despot, the nobles by a factious oligarchy, and the lawful authority of the people by licentiousness and anarchy. To this may be added, that they are often replaced and expelled by each other."

The opinion, 1900 years ago, of the most illustrious defender of liberty among the ancients, who was at once a great writer, a great politician, a great philosopher, and the martyr of republican doctrines,—has been adopted by the most celebrated legislators of succeeding ages, and confirmed by the history of all nations. Montesquieu does not acknowledge the existence of liberty in those governments which prejudice calls free, and in which the people seems to do whatever they please, thus confounding the ideas of liberty and licentiousness; but he admits the triumph of liberty in those governments in which the distribution of the different powers preserves each in such a state of equilibrium, that the weight of no one preponderates over that of another. The same opinion is professed by Grotius, Fox, Adams, Vattel, Puffendorf, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, even by Paine and Rousseau.

* This word in the mouth of the Roman orator, signifies merely chief, magistrate,

We will, however, explain ourselves previously to entering into a more extended development of this opinion. In asserting the necessity of a wise division of the political power in the new American states, we by no means attack the republican system which the majority of them have thought proper to adopt. In this respect, our profession of faith, which is well known, is immutable. It is now what it formerly was, and what it will always be. It is not, therefore, our intention to criticise this form of government which, in a vast variety of views, appears to us the most sublime of human conceptions; but we contend that it ought to be erected upon a rational and solid basis, and thus, calculated to secure the permanent existence of the state. In other words, it is our firm belief, that the principles of pure democracy which have never been reducible to practice, would now, in some respects, be more remote from possibility, than at any former period, and still more fatal in the present circumstances of America. Such we think, should be the reasoning of every real friend of American liberty, and especially of every philosophical writer who opposes not mere abstract opinions to the powerful dictates of reason, time and experience. It is now time to resign our prejudices, and to relinquish the pursuit of ideal perfection for the attainment of positive good. Indeed, experience and common sense prove, with indisputable evidence, that a constitution founded on the salutary principle of a division of power can alone consolidate the liberty of the new American states, and oppose an invincible resistance to the return of tyranny. In fact, what is a democratical republic?

It is a state in which the great body of the people have the immediate liberty of debate, adopt or reject any proposed law, decide on questions of peace or war, and even, in some circumstances, assume the character of judge. Is not, however, such a state of things, physically impossible, in the vast regions of America; and is not the supposition of its practical establishment incompatible with the very nature of the country? For how is it possible to concillate this system with that from which South America has been just emancipated? Unmixed democracy supposes a people, the majority of whom are sufficiently versed in the knowledge of social rights to exercise them with wisdom, and Rousseau himself says that, such a government belongs to angels and not to men. Nor, is it probable that any one would risk the assertion that three centuries past in the darkness and ignorance of despotism, can have raised the Spanish Americans above the level of humanity. Whoever reads Thucydides will be convinced of the tremendous evils produced by pure democracy. Contemplate the wisdom of the North Americans. Have they given the name of democratic republic to any of the states of the union? Examine their different constitutions. Is there one the existence of which is compatible with the system of democracy? It was this system which reduced Athens to so deplorable a state, that a player on the flute, idolized by the people, appeared in the assembly, with a hatchet in his hand, threatening to strike whoever should dare to speak against a law which had just been proposed. In short, the Americans have only to fix, for an instant, their attention upon themselves to be convinced of the benefits produced in Chili, during the

last three years, by a purely democratic government. This was the system which obstructed the regeneration of the country to which we allude. It was this which induced Great Britain to defer the recognition of its independence, and, in consequence of which, it would have been left to the mercy of Spain, had it not been protected by the ægis of the other states, and the interest of the common cause. This ephemeral constitution, made up principally of the ancient French declaration, of the rights of man; lavishing indiscriminately these of citizens and elections; concentrating every power in a popular assembly; leaving every legislative, executive, and judicial function to the discretion of the people, and yet authorizing the principle of religious intolerance; was, in fact, a fanciful composition of antiquated notions, and contradictory elements. Its only tendency has been to encourage troubles and confusion, during two years lost in fruitless efforts, and terminating in a *comp.d'etat*, and in a military dictatorship which, however, we hope, will be of short duration, if we may judge from the disinterestedness and moderation of the warrior to whom this power is entrusted.

It is, then, impossible not to admit that the only government adapted to the American states recently emancipated, is a mixt government, the legislative power of which should be divided into two chambers, and the executive invested with sufficient independence, strength, and dignity, not only to prevent its becoming an instrument in the hands of faction, but to secure respect to the laws and enforce their execution. So important is an executive power of this nature, to

the American states, that they ought to consider its suspension as destructive of their liberty.

These are the only principles upon which society can now repose. The present nature of things and the testimony of history validate the assertion. In all well constituted free governments, the people acknowledge obedience to three powers. At Rome, the regal government consisted of the people, the senate, and the king. After the merited destruction of royalty, the government was vested exclusively in the people and the senate: but what internal convulsions, what dreadful divisions were the consequences? At Sparta, the supreme authority consisted of three powers; the people, the senate and the king. It was determined to create a fourth; the ephori were appointed, and the work of Lycurgus was destroyed. At Athens, Solon limited the government to two powers; immediately, a tyrant springs up; his authority is subverted, and the constitution is re-established. Here, an attentive reader remarks, that the necessity of a third power repeatedly compelled the Athenians to confide it, either as a trust of confidence, or, through the medium of a decree, to the discretion of their orators and generals; and it cannot be denied, that Pericles was, thirty years, king of Athens, although uninvested with the royal title.

For near a century and a half, England, under the protection of three powers, has enjoyed the highest degree of prosperity; and all the declamations of envy so often repeated against her government, have invalidated neither the judgment of Montesquieu, nor the evidence of facts.

At the period when Sweden, according to Rousseau, possessed more liberty than any other nation in Europe, she was governed by three powers; and the same system, although too restricted, is, at the present day, the first cause of the regeneration and renewed prosperity of this country.

These three powers are also to be found in the general government of the United States, the constitution of which should be the model of every republican constitution, and particularly that of all the new states of South America. Among all the states of the union, Georgia and Pensilvania alone had, for some time, but one chamber; experience, however, soon led to the adoption of a different course, and Pensilvania, so early as in the year 1790, created a senate.

I confess that to me, nothing appears more demonstrative, than these facts supported by the testimony of history. Let us, however, for an instant, disclaim the authority of so many examples; let us obliterate our former recollections, and confine the proof of our opinion to the nature of the question which is the object of it.

What mode of government should be adopted by South America in her recent state of emancipation from the yoke of Spanish despotism? What is the solid basis on which should be founded a constitution adapted to each of the states? This is the subject we wish to investigate. Can they be governed by a single assembly? Certainly not; because, in principle, nothing is more violent, more unstable than a single assembly; because it has ever been irresolute, and feeble in its conduct towards those that predominate, and

violent, in the extreme, when it had no opposition to contend with ; and because, in every state, it is essential to the existence of liberty, that neither an assembly, nor an individual, should be certain of meeting with no resistance. It is impossible for any real friend of liberty, to imagine, without indignation, an assembly of men, whose will can be controlled by no power. A single assembly does good or ill, upon arbitrary principles ; hence, it is tyrannical : a single assembly is, by its nature, unlimited in its power ; from this very circumstance also, it is tyrannical. On the contrary, when the legislative body is divided into two branches, the senate can do nothing without the representatives, nor the representatives without the senate. One proposes the tax, but cannot grant it ; the other grants the tax, but cannot propose it ; and if, by one of those fatalities which sometimes happen, the two branches of the legislative power exceed their prescribed limits, the executive power can suspend the execution of a decision destructive to the interest of the state ; give time for the expression of public opinion, and allow to the legislative body opportunity for reflexion. Thus, in the republic, no power is unlimited. On the other hand, a single assembly, having no other check than the often powerless interpretation of the letter of the constitution, may convert its caprices into laws, decide according to the will of those by whom it is controlled, destroy one day the acts of the preceding day, and, to complete the climax of evils, give permanency to the oppression of tyranny. What are the consequences of such a system ? The chiefs of the ruling party dictate whatever laws they please ; their ambition is necessarily encouraged by the possibility of accom-

plishing their purpose; they carry measures to excess against the opposite party, which they overturn, or by which they are themselves subdued. Thus, they precipitate the country into an abyss in which the contending factions effect their mutual destruction: a condition the most dreadful of all; for, in despotic governments, the nature of things is sometimes more powerful than the will of the tyrant; whilst, under the empire of an absolute and factious democracy, pride and ambition, concealing themselves under the mask of the public will, break down every opposing barrier. Let it not here be asserted that, by changing the individuals, the evil may be destroyed. This is a mistake. The evil is in the nature of man; and we, who severely censure the errors of such or such a legislature, should, perhaps, have acted in the same manner, had we been placed in similar circumstances. It is not, therefore, from the personal qualities of the individuals, but from those of the political institutions, that a people must expect the guarantee of their liberty. Such are the general truths which experience has imparted, which immutable reason sanctions, and to which the legislators who now hold in their hands the destinies of America, cannot devote too much attention.

From these first and essential principles, let us proceed to local exigencies. Two things deserve consideration in a constitution to be given to a people; written laws, and the possibility of carrying them into execution. Written laws depend upon the wisdom of the legislature; the possibility of executing them belongs to the national character.

These two things may be completely opposite. The

last Spanish revolution exhibits a proof of the assertion: hence, the government being isolated from the nation, the most extended liberty may exist in the principles of the former, and the greatest servility in the manners and ideas of the latter; which proves, as it is observed by Solon, that we require, not the best possible laws, but those which are most congenial to our habits. Now, no one, we think, will assert, that pure democracy is adapted to the immense majority of the Spanish Americans.

It is by recalling to our attention the point, whence America first set out, and by reflecting on the progress she has already made, that we shall be able to determine the nature of the institutions congenial to her. The American revolution is less the result of intellectual light and civilization, than of the sufferings inflicted on her by the most dreadful tyranny. Consequently, the principle of this just and important revolution, originated rather in physical than moral causes. During three centuries, error, despotism, superstition, and ignorance, opposed the development of the understanding of the Americans; but when, at last, the folly of their tyrants compelled them to open their eyes to the blessings of liberty, habitual submission to a protracted state of slavery, had left in their minds, inveterate habits which will yield only to the operation of time and education, and which it would be dangerous prematurely to bring into contact with opposite principles, and the too unrestrained exercise of liberty. The Spanish Americans must be gradually raised from the abyss in which they have been buried, for so many centuries. The transition from the former to the new state of things, must not be preci-

pitate. Their union can be effected only by a gradual approximation; they would otherwise oppose and destroy each other. The influence of tyranny has not been powerless among the Americans; it has introduced into their understandings and hearts, errors, false morality and vices, the deep impression of which nothing can obliterate but the influence of the new institutions. Their minds must be strengthened by the invigorating spirit of liberty; but without exposing their reason, which is yet weak, to the inebriation of licentiousness. Thus only will the new laws be respected by the people who, in consequence of too rapid a transition to freedom, either will not understand them, or will consider them hostile to prejudices and opinions which time has not yet eradicated. In vain would the American legislators attempt to erect the edifice of unmixed democracy among people who have scarcely emerged one day from a state of unmixed despotism, and among whom slaves have not ceased to exist. In vain, would they decree the immediate exercise of popular sovereignty, among an unindustrious people devoted only to agricultural pursuits, and scattered over an immense extent of country, which would render impossible their formation into a collective and deliberative body. In vain, would they confer the most unlimited enjoyment of political and civil rights upon a people whom they dare not emancipate from the trammels of superstition, and among whom they are obliged to continue the anti-rational, anti-liberal and anti-philosophical principle of an exclusive religion. Vain would be the effort, by an im-

practicable levelling system, to despoil property and commerce of their legislative privileges, in a country where the interest of the proprietor, and the merchant, is intimately connected with the public interest, with the cause of independence, and the consolidation of the new order of things. It is unquestionably, in legislation, a revolting degree of criminality and a monstrous iniquity, to grant places to opulence and favor, rather than to merit: but in the gratuitous functions of legislation, is it much less dangerous to seek no guarantee in the natural attachment excited by property, commerce, and industry towards the cherished country, which is the scene of so much enjoyment? Is no security to be expected from the love of liberty and order, inspired by our best interests, and by the education which is the source of intellectual improvement?

In the present state of South America, the relations which connect property with national and foreign commerce, form the solid basis of public prosperity; hence, to allow them no share in the legislation superior to that of every *proletarius*, would be to transmit all authority to men less interested than any other in the public welfare, to a turbulent majority contracted in their views, who would establish in the republic an interminable struggle blending, in its consequences, good citizens friendly to peace with persons whose only aim is disorder. In short, if men without property and unconnected with commerce, are to be admitted into the legislative body; if they are to enjoy the unreserved exercise of political rights, a state of agitation will be suffered to exist, from which such men will have nothing to fear; they will burthen commerce

and agriculture with taxes by which they themselves will not be affected, and they will precipitate America into violent convulsions which will expose her unarmed to the attacks of her foreign enemies. Vain, in short, for a considerable length of time, will be the attempt to confide the destiny of America to an executive power destitute of strength and stability. Vigour, secrecy, and promptitude, in connexion with legal responsibility, should be the appendages of an authority upon which will devolve the task of uniting the scattered members of a vast empire, and of watching, in very difficult circumstances, over the preservation of a social body which may yet, for a considerable period, be threatened and, perhaps, attacked by foreign enemies, ever ready to encourage and improve, to their own advantage, internal dissensions among the Americans.

The exigencies of the new states of Spanish America exhibit so prominent a feature in the nature of things, that they require no model of imitation for the establishment of salutary institutions. A just conception of their situation is alone sufficient to point out a constitution competent to the protection of their independence and liberty. Let it be neither a democracy, a monarchy, an oligarchy nor an aristocracy: let it be the constitution of the South American republics, like those of North America, which are simply called American constitutions. Let its principle be no other than that of the manners, the wants, the climate and the population of the societies which it is to govern, and let it adopt a spirit of moderation, which the philosophers of antiquity considered the first of virtues,

and which, according to Montesquieu, should be the characteristic quality of the legislator. If, however, to all the considerations which we have offered, and to which we anticipate no reasonable objection, we should superadd the authority of example, we would recommend that of North America. These people, the eldest of the Americans, in the career of liberty and civilization, and who have never been degraded by Spanish despotism, have submitted to a wise division of the legislative power; they have disclaimed the doctrine which prescribes only one assembly; they have opposed a powerful counteracting influence to the precipitation which extorts decrees from the enthusiasm of a single chamber; they have conferred upon the executive department permanency, strength, and the salutary power of sanctioning or rejecting any proposed measure; thus, combining promptitude with firmness, and the advantages of unity, without its inconveniences; they have instituted a judicial power, the political and civil relation of which harmonize with each other; and which is possessed of sufficient energy, independence, and ability, to decide on the fortunes, the honour, and the lives of the citizens; they have established and perfected, as the palladium of liberty, the sublime institution of trial by jury; and hence, peace, liberty of opinion, the right of property, the entire disposal, on the part of the citizen, of his person, of his industry, and all his faculties, the communication of his thoughts, by every possible means, the pursuit of good and resistance to oppression,—these are the inappreciable blessings which the United States have derived from this

admirable division of power. But, should any restless and suspicious minds perceive, in these salutary divisions, the renewal of the titles annihilated in South America, and the restoration of a privileged nobility ; we would observe to them, that it is superfluous here to resume the discussion of the advantages or inconveniences of the monarchical institutions ; and that it is sufficient, to justify our silence on this subject, that they have been deservedly reprobated and proscribed by the American nation. But, in what respect can the idea of two chambers, and of a powerful executive department, appear adverse to republican liberty ? Such fears are puerile and the characteristic of weak minds. The organization we propose to you, has nothing repugnant to the principles which influenced your revolution. It is the result of the public will ; it is founded in public utility, and it asserts the inalienable, and imprescriptible rights of nations : in short, it constitutes the glory and happiness of nations, as jealous of their liberty as you, and more experienced than you, in the mechanism of social order. If your legislators follow their steps, they will save America ; if on the contrary, they apply a feeble hand ; if they attempt to reconcile the genuine principles of government with mere prejudice ; if they suffer themselves to be deceived or intimidated by the clamors of demagogues ; they will ruin American liberty, and become the first victims of their own weakness.

Such are the leading principles we recommend to the consideration of the American legislators. In a following article, we will examine how far they belong to the constitutions already adopted in some of the new

states; and we will, afterwards, pass from the consideration of the system in its aggregate point of view, to each secondary institution emanating from it. The sincerity of our opinion may perhaps occasionally provoke the censure of unreflecting minds: should this be the case, we shall find our consolation in the conviction, that writers friendly to truth must have the courage to declare it, even to those who are not disposed to listen to its dictates.

B. SA....

INTERNAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH
AMERICA.

The present period is decidedly that which involves the fate of America, and which Divine Providence had appointed to her, in the succession of ages. The inhabitants of the New World, lately chained to their glebe, are now advancing, with a firm and rapid step, to the rectification of every political and moral error. At the present moment, they draw upon themselves, in one year, in one month, in one day, a greater degree of attention, than they formerly excited, in a whole century. Every act they are accomplishing is a complete solution of the threefold problem,—more interesting to mankind than any other,—whether the fractions of the great human family have a right to constitute themselves into national bodies; whether they have a right to enact laws for themselves, and to adopt that form of government most congenial to them; and whether the legitimacy of these governments founded upon the national will, is not, of all others, the most sacred, and the most powerful. What a contrast, and how worthy of consideration, between ministers officiating at the funeral of the old continent, and that of statesman presiding over the regeneration of America! The former, as if impelled by a fatal necessity, seem doomed to speculate against the interests of mankind, whilst the latter admit no safety, but in the triumph of all their lawful rights. Thus, whilst the politicians of the European

continent are undisguisedly labouring to throw back nations into the ages of barbarism and darkness, the new impulse given to American civilization is every moment extending, and acquiring new accessions of strength. Our readers have only to compare the speeches delivered, this year, by the presidents of the Mexican republic, of the United States, and of the federation of La Plata, as well as the wise proclamation of the emperor of Brazil, with the decretals of the kings of Spain, and Portugal, the ukases of the Russian autocrat, the recantations of the grand duke of Baden, and the menaces against liberty, so unequivocally expressed in the restrictions of the king of France, or treacherously disguised under the constitutional semblance which he still assumes in his speeches. In Europe, power rests upon a support unconnected with the people, and derives its strength only from oppression: in America, it is placed in the centre of the general interest, and owes the whole of its energy to moral causes: in Europe, it lives exclusively upon cunning and corruption: in America, it is entirely sustained by public opinion, without which, it would immediately fall: in Europe, all classes are dissatisfied, men of every opinion are alarmed, and power, with its attendant satellites, advances alone, in the career of tyranny: in America, the harmony is perfect, and power, placed at the head of the people, only leads the way to their regeneration: in Europe, truths, however known, are denied, every error is adopted; old prejudices are revived; and an alliance is renewed with the most absurd principles from those of the Jesuits, to that which recognizes the divine right of kings: America, on the contrary, disen-

gaged from the ties of the old system of barbarism, resolves and sanctions, as she advances, the most important questions of social order, from that of the origin of power, to that which is of least consequence in the administrative system. Europe asserts the sanctity of despotism; America proclaims the sovereignty of nations: the former rebuilds the structure of superstition; the latter renders homage to civil and religious liberty; the former exercises the judicial functions in the dark, or corrupts the beautiful institution of trial by jury; the latter adopts and improves it: there, the communication of thought is proscribed; here, the public expression of opinion is encouraged and acknowledged as a blessing: there, all confidence is placed in the physical strength of innumerable armies of mercenaries; here, the defence of the country is entrusted exclusively to the militia and to the citizens. Never was the world divided by two systems more opposite, more hostile to each other. Such, however, is the admirable situation of England, that she is free from the dangers and errors of the European continent, to which if she directs her attention, it is only to awe by her superiority, to express her sovereign contempt, or to exert, wherever she pleases, the influence of her profound and wise policy. With the exception, therefore, of Great Britain, Europe and America have imposed upon themselves an invariable law to proceed in an inverse ratio to each other. But when it is considered that the ideas of what is just or unjust, true or false, are every where the same; that the wants and desires of nations are, in both continents, similar and uniform; and that these nations proceed in the

opposite direction which they appear to follow, from no other principle than the obstinate tyranny of a few individuals, it is easy to foresee that the present generation will witness the termination of so monstrous a state of things.

In the midst of so many various, instructive and consoling prospects exhibited by South America, that of the Brazilian revolution is eminently calculated to fix the attention.

The essence of the new empire partakes at once of all that was good in the past, and of whatever may have a tendency, in the present and the future, to promote the welfare of the human race. This is a happy transition from the period which is ending to that which is beginning: a transition which possesses a greater degree of efficacy, because, although invested with a different name, it yet offers an identity of general principles which guarantee the unity of the grand political system of South America: for Brazil, which, like the other states of this vast continent, is rising on the ruins of European despotism, is placed in the midst of the elements of a general liberty, with which she must either prosper, or cease to exist. And indeed the principles of the American revolution have admirably fructified under the influence of the new Brazilian government. It is pleasing to observe, with what wisdom and rapidity it has applied, to the social state, all the essential theories of this revolution; how the division of power has replaced the authority of a single power; how wisely the monarchy of this power has been fixed; and that the secondary institutions, which are the essence of the representative system, are every where forming without effort, or opposition,

and as a natural consequence of the constitutional government. Let not, therefore, candour withhold the admission, that if, after an obstinate struggle of fifteen years exerted in the recovery of their rights, the Spanish Americans profess the sincerest gratitude to the republican chiefs to whom they are indebted for their liberty; the Portuguese Americans are not under less obligation to a young prince, the offspring of an ancient monarchy, who, born in the midst of privileges, and nourished, as it were, with the milk of absolute monarchy, has had the uncommon courage to forego his alliance to the royal blood, and disclaim the prerogatives of his birth, in order to declare himself the adopted son of America, and the natural defender of all her liberties. And how many means, hitherto unknown, has he not discovered and applied to useful purposes! How many undertakings which, six years ago, appeared impossible, have been, and are still every day, accomplished by the power of his constitutional authority.

When Brazil passed from a state of absolute monarchy to that of a constitutional empire, we had our fears; with every friend of American liberty, respecting the nature of this change. In reference to Brazil, we dreaded two rocks, the danger of which seemed to us inevitable. In the interior of the state, we anticipated the probable continuation, by the new sovereign, of the principles which had actuated the former government, in favour of which, it was not unreasonable to suppose that he had imbibed the prejudices instilled into him, from his infancy: and in respect to the connexion of Brazil with other countries, we dreaded lest the creation of a new empire, in the pre-

sence of a republican world, should occasion commotion and disunion throughout the whole of America. In this point of view, we candidly confess, that the destiny of the Brazilian empire appeared to us very uncertain, and that it would have given us pleasure to see this beautiful country regenerating itself under any other form of government.

Thus influenced, we have followed step by step, the progress of the Brazilian government, in order to determine how far our fears were ill or well founded; and we are compelled to acknowledge that, in the examination of the major part of its acts, and in our attempt to penetrate its most secret designs, we have discovered every reason to hope for the prosperity of Brazil, and for the permanent independence and liberty of all the states of America. It is indeed impossible to deny, that hitherto the most genuine constitutional principles have prevailed both in the theory and in the practical application of this government. This truth may seem questionable to men unacquainted with the lamentable situation of Brazil before the revolution; but those who are initiated into all the iniquities which then overwhelmed it, and who have sufficient knowledge to compare it with the social existence which it now enjoys, will have no doubt on the subject. In fact, what was, ten years ago, the Brazilian nation? an assemblage of individuals scattered over an immense surface, living under the most absolute despotism, and suffering all the consequences of its oppressive tyranny. Confined within the limits of the family in which the hand of power could reach them, the Brazilians were often doomed to remain strangers to the interests of the state, of the province,

and even of the city in which they lived. A monstrous system of centralization originating in a deplorable routine, attracted every thing to itself, exercised an irresistible sway, and subjected, to its exclusive authority, every interest, mode of existence, locality, and individual. In this system, the executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative powers, religion, the police, instruction, in short, all interests emanated from one sole independent will, tending, by its very nature, to obstruct, and which, in fact, did obstruct their operations. Hence, the citizens of all classes were, in reality, only a species of helots incapable of transacting their own affairs. In this system, there existed no permanency in social situations; no hierarchy of power; no independence among individuals; no guarantee for the protection of families. In this system, nothing was attended to, but the wants of the moment; decrees adapted solely to the purpose of the present, and laws to that of the following day, were issued and enacted suddenly and without previous deliberation; every thing was mean, unconnected, and ephemeral. So abject, indeed, was the condition of the people, that, whenever their masters condescended to relax in their oppression, they excited gratitude even for the evil they had not committed.

And yet there are still, perhaps, men of honourable feeling, who are astonished that the prince, by whom Brazil was released from this state of torpor and despotism, did not suddenly precipitate it into the contrary extreme. They are astonished that his majesty, in forming a feeble government, like all those produced by the violence of a revolution, did not abandon it to the attacks of all parties. Such persons,

without regard either to the past or present, apply the epithets of secret after-thoughts, and liberticide projects, to all the means with which his majesty was obliged to oppose the encroachments of individual ambition, and the abuse of the theory by which it is supported. We also have been, and always shall be, the natural defenders of the liberty of the people ; and we think in unison with its most jealous and clamorous friends, that it cannot be protected by too powerful a guarantee : but can we, in conscience, deny that the new Brazilian government has formed an era completely new to this country ? It is more easy to arraign the conduct of a government by indefinite, or general accusations, than to found them upon well-attested facts. In respect to ourselves, we have before us documents which are, probably, very little the objects of the enquiry of the enemies of the emperor ; we mean the daily acts of his government, by which alone a correct idea can be formed of it. We have carefully examined this series of legislative and administrative measures ; we have studied the spirit, and observed the execution of them ; and we are convinced that, three years ago, nothing justified even the hope, that the present power could produce, from the contracted and vicious system to which it succeeded, a government so generous, liberal and just as that which now prevails. It exhibits the constitutional principle developing itself in all its departments. The most absolute centralization is succeeded by the division of power ; the most energetic measures are adopted, by the sovereign authority, to guarantee the liberty of election, and to secure the formation of legislative, independent assemblies ; and the commons, who be-

fore were powerless, are invested with municipal rights: an advantage not possessed by the freest nations in Europe. The institution of trial by jury is adopted as the palladium of public liberty; the judges, formerly the submissive instruments of power, are declared permanent in their official situations, and are thus placed in a state of unassailable independence; the liberty of the press, that eternal terror of arbitrary power, is acknowledged in all its plenitude, and is subject to no other restraint, than that which the laws may justly oppose to its abuse; public instruction, formerly the exclusive appendage of the clergy, is released from all impediments; primary schools are everywhere established, and several universities are already in contemplation in the principal towns, in order to complete the education of young persons, and secure to them acquirements corresponding to the exigencies of the representative system, by which the state is governed; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is obliged to confine itself within the limits of spiritual power, prescribed by every constitutional system; and lastly, until law shall fix the responsibility of the ministers, an imperial decree enacts, that these ministers, as well as all agents of power, shall be tried by the established tribunals, for all state crimes, or the abuse of power committed in the exercise of their public functions.

Such is the result of our investigation of the measures adopted by the imperial government, when we seek in them the motives of the criminations still urged against it. But it will, perhaps, be objected, that these guarantees are tainted with an original vice, because they are conceded by the prince alone, instead of emanating from the united concurrence of

the different powers which ought to constitute every representative government. To this we reply.—Would it have been proper, till the assembly of the legislative body, the indefinite organization of which imperious circumstances have delayed, even to this day, that the government should have left society in a disorganized state, and neglected to lay the solid foundation of this same representative system, which cannot exist but in connexion with all the institutions we have just described? Is it not a species of madness to pretend, that the emperor has every where disseminated the seeds of civil liberty and national independence of Brazil for no other purpose, than to enjoy a little later the pleasure of eradicating them? But what would have been said, if till the installation of the parliament, his majesty had left the nation enveloped in the atmosphere of apathy and slavery, in which he found it before his accession to the throne? It would have been justly urged, that his majesty, whilst planning the establishment of absolute power, feared lest he should give birth to the elements of liberty. This prince, however, makes the nation *virtually* free before it is *legally* so; he generously diffuses liberal principles; he secures to his subjects the possession of their imprescriptible rights, and thus creates formidable enemies against absolute power. This is the best refutation of all the absurdities that envy attributes to his presumed intention: for, judging from his conduct, he must necessarily be either a madman, or the most sincere friend of the independence, liberty and prosperity of Brazil: the alternative is evident.

We sincerely regret to meet, among the adversaries,

sur parole, of the Brazilian government, a journal, in other respects, justly celebrated for the purity of its political doctrines and the extraordinary talent with which it defends them. The Times, of the 19th of April, alludes to an address from the town of Monte-Video to the emperor of Brazil, in which the municipal council of this town recommends to his imperial majesty to prescribe no limits to his authority, and to introduce no innovation into the ancient system of government. The Times attributes the origin of this measure to the will of the emperor, and considers it as the effect of a premeditated intention to procure, apparently in opposition to his inclination, a return to the system of absolute power. This is carrying rather too far the power which pretends to read the secrets of the human heart: perhaps also it betrays rather too little information respecting the true personal interests of his imperial majesty, and a forgetfulness of the nature of the foundation upon which the whole of his authority reposes. As to ourselves, who are acquainted with the country, we account for the address of the municipal council of Monte-Video in a more simple and perhaps in a more natural manner. We think, in the first place, that the municipality of Monte-Video is not, like the court of aldermen in the city of London, the faithful echo of the public voice; but merely a handful of magistrates lately naturalized Brazilians who, to secure the favour of the rising power, may very well have substituted their own particular wishes for those of the public. We believe, in the second place, that, if the people of Monte-Video really adopt the opinion expressed by its magistrates,

the reason is, that dreading, on one hand, the tyranny of Spain by which they have been so long oppressed ; and, on the other, the tyranny of the demagogues, whose excesses they have so recently experienced ; they prefer the absolute authority of a wise prince to the alternative which would expose them to the return of either of these scourges. In short, we are convinced by the example of all ages and all nations, that in so vast an empire as Brazil, there may exist some discrepance of opinion respecting the organic form of government, without the admission that this discrepance is a phenomenon, or that it indicates the conspiracy of power against public liberty. Besides, who will believe that the emperor so much mistakes his situation and personal interest, as to be disposed to change the institutions which he himself created, and to the nature of which he owes the throne which he occupies ? Will it be imagined that his majesty is not convinced that, in the present state of the world, and above all in the present state of America, such is the absolute necessity of a representative government that without it, there can now exist no safety either for kings or nations ? When it is known that, a few months ago, the prince, in an assembly of his council, combated the right of succession to the titles of nobility, as a principle hostile to the claims of merit, will it be believed that he is ignorant that, in every legitimacy resulting from social compact, in which royalty is conditional and not essential, the representative government has an immense advantage over the despotic ? because, according to the remark of Montesquieu, "as the people who live under a well regulated police are more happy than those who, uninfluenced by restraint, wander about in

the forests; so, monarchs, who live under the constitutional laws of their country, are happier than despots who have no principle by which to regulate their own inclinations or those of their people," "because," says the same political writer, "as it is in the nature of the representative government, that there should be under the prince, several orders connected with the constitution, the state is for that reason, more fixed, the constitution more stable, and the persons of those who govern better protected."

But there is another refutation of the opinion of the Times, more decisive than either our reasonings, or those of the editor: it is the following document:—

After thanking the cabildo of Monte Video for the expression of their sentiments of affection, his Imperial Majesty returned the following answer by his secretary of state for the affairs of Europe;

"In respect to religion, his majesty orders me to reply, 1st. That intolerance is contrary to the constitutional oath, and even to the Roman catholic, apostolic religion: because God has given to man liberty to believe, or not to believe, to save or damn himself by his belief or unbelief. 2dly. In reference to usages and customs, his imperial majesty desires me to reply that, in respect to those which shall be established by the laws, the constitution requires that the assembly should not change them without the imperial sanction; and, as those not established by law, are not independent of government, his imperial majesty will act according to his judgment. In allusion to the wish expressed by the cabildo, to yield implicit obedience to his imperial majesty, the emperor replies, that the constitutional oath having been required, and taken by all the provinces and by that of Monte-Video, no consideration could induce his imperial majesty to violate his oath; and that, even had his majesty not taken this

oath, he could not accede to such a proposal, because his sentiments being completely constitutional, he can never submit to reign but in virtue of a constitution, &c."

Another complaint :— " The cabildo (or council) of Monte-Video," says the Times, "had their loyal feelings invigorated by receiving from Rio Janeiro a portrait of the emperor. In return for this mark of imperial condescension, they addressed his majesty in a style of inflated eulogy and extravagant admiration, which leaves European flattery at a distance, and may well excite the envy of European courtiers. On the 4th of December, say these loyal counsellors, appeared on the water of our horizon, like a true luminary, the precious gift of which your majesty had sent us. On the same day, your resplendent august colours ennobled the great hall of head quarters; and on the 5th your most inestimable picture was conveyed incognito to the capitular palace, till a room should be prepared for its solemn inauguration;" &c. &c.

This is, we acknowledge, a *tirade* too Asiatic, and pretty much resembling the compliment of Durbek to the Molach Mahomet Ali, that he was born to reside among the stars, and that he certainly concealed himself, lest he should darken the sun. But does the Times think that European flattery has exhausted the vocabulary of servility? that it can supply no more hyperbolical expressions; and that it has felt none for the use of the courtiers of the New World? Is it, really, a wonder to hear the cabildo of Monte-Video invest with emphasis phrases which are daily repeated in all the courts of Europe? and shall we be terrified because the municipality of Brazil have written to their prince,

(who, no doubt, justly appreciates the value of their words) what the prefect of the Oriental Pyrenees, said, in the presence of the duke D'Angoulême, who sincerely believed it? Is all this any thing more than the vulgar language of the courtiers of every country? We must not be frightened at such trifles. "If we hear of many more representations of this kind, there will be no longer room for doubting the absolute power of Don Pedro I."

After having established the principle of the imperial intervention, in the preparation of the address from Monte-Video, it was natural that the Times should infer this consequence; but the incorrectness of the principle having been once demonstrated, which is the fact, the conclusion is, that such addresses may be repeated, without predicting the extinction of the constitutional government which, by its essence, guarantees to every citizen the right of petitioning on any subject whatever.

"On the part of the people, if these addresses may be supposed to speak their genuine sentiments, the abolition of constitutional forms can scarcely be a subject of much regret. As easily can we conceive a reptile assuming our attitudes, and imitating our motions, as a slave rising to the erect posture of a free man, immediately after grovelling in the dust, and uttering the abject language with which these addresses are contaminated."

There is, in this reasoning, a great moral truth and a great political error. A slave does not suddenly adopt the manners of a free man. This is true. But is he, therefore, to be abandoned to his degradation; and is he to excite no pity when he is excluded from a

wise constitution which can alone progressively raise him to the dignity of man? Certainly not; and we are convinced that nothing but a momentary impulse of ill humour could have induced the judicious editor to assert a proposition which, if it were correct, would command the half of mankind never to shake off their chains. It is not sufficient to command slaves to be free; they must be made so by means of institutions, and the influence of time.—F. d. F.

BUENOS AYRES.—The political situation of the republic of Buenos Ayres is evidently every day improving and acquiring new strength. The obstacles which, for a short time, impeded the organization of the constitutional congress, and the inconsiderable difficulties arising from the choice of a situation for the central seat of the federal government, have been happily removed. The general congress has assembled at Buenos-Ayres, where deputies have arrived from all parts of the union. The greatest wisdom and unanimity prevail in its discussions relating to the establishment of the federal constitution, the principles of which are to regulate the government of the different provinces of Rio de La Plata, and cement their alliance. The federal government is, likewise, unremitting in the discharge of its functions, and is accomplishing a gradual and rapid reformation of all the abuses connected with the former state of things, and which had obstructed the progress of the revolution. Among the measures intended most powerfully to consolidate this happy revolution are, that which has for its object the defence of the nation against the usur-

pations of the priesthood, and that by which the government solemnly pledges itself to prevent, by all the means in its power, the abominable traffic in negroes,

In reference to the first object, we have to state that, information having been received that an individual named Don Juan Musi, calling himself apostolic vicar to the republic of Chili, had published rescripts, the observance of which was obligatory upon persons living in the united provinces, and in those belonging to the jurisdiction of Buenos-Ayres; it has been declared that such a proceeding, on the part of Don Juan Musi whom the government recognizes in no capacity, is contrary to the laws of the united provinces, and an attempt against the independence of the government, which, therefore, orders the vicar general of the bishoprick to resist every rescript of this kind, and to transmit to the authorities, to enable them to adopt ulterior measures, every future rescript that may be introduced by the pretended apostolic vicar, or by any other agent of the jesuitical sects. This measure is very expressive, because it evinces the progress of reason among a people who, during three centuries, have been moulded to the authority of papal omnipotence, and into whose minds have been instilled all the prejudices, and superstitions which have perverted the true spirit of the gospel.

In respect to the abolition of the slave trade, it is with the most lively satisfaction that we find, in the treaty of commerce recently concluded between the republic of La Plata, and his Britannic Majesty, the following article:—

Art. 14. His Britannic Majesty anxiously desiring the abolition of the slave trade, the united provinces of Rio de La Plata engage

to co-operate with his majesty, in accomplishing so beneficial a work; and to prohibit all persons residing in the united provinces, or subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any part in the same traffic. *

This treaty offers, independently of the commercial stipulations, clauses highly important to all the American states, because they establish, in the most explicit manner, the practical principle of their independence and sovereignty. It sanctions, not only the most unlimited exercise of religious liberty, but allows the subjects of his Britannic Majesty resident in the republic of La Plata the public profession of every religion, and the building of places of worship for that purpose. This is a great step towards toleration, and the future abnegation of the false principles which still admit, among several nations, a state-religion invested with exclusive privileges. Our readers will also remark, not with astonishment, but certainly with pleasure, that one of the considerations which most powerfully induces his Britannic Majesty to recognize the independence of the republic of La Plata, is "their irrevocable resolution to separate for ever from Spain." In fact, nothing is more irrevocable than this resolution, and the English government may rest assured that, in this alliance, there is nothing derogatory from its dignity, and that it is not to Spanish slaves that it ap-

* See, in the section Commerce, the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United Provinces of Rio de La Plata, concluded the 2nd and ratified on the 19th of the month of February.

plies, in this instance, the names of brethren and free men. The following is the answer made by Mr. Parish, the English plenipotentiary, to the governor general of Buenos-Ayres, on receiving from his Excellency the ratification of the treaty :—

“ In receiving by your Excellency the ratification of our treaty, I cannot but congratulate your Excellency, and all the inhabitants of this country, upon this event, which places you in the rank of the nations recognized in the world; and which is entirely owing to your own exertions and the liberal policy you have adopted.

Sir, before Great Britain could enter into relations of this nature with any of the new states of America, it was necessary to know whether that state was in a situation which promised, not only its tranquillity for the moment, but pledges and solid bases for the future.

Sir, the flattering accounts which have reached his Britannic Majesty on these points, added to the wish expressed, not only by the government, but by the people of this country in general, to cultivate at all times the most friendly relations with the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and the conviction of their irrevocable resolution to separate for ever from Spain, have been the considerations which have induced his majesty to take this step, and to make this compact with the United Provinces, sealing for ever our friendship by the most solemn act.

May heaven grant that this friendship be perpetual, and this act the passage which shall lead to the worthy recognition of the nation by the rest of the world!”

On the 18th of December the project of a fundamental law relative to the Union was proposed, of which the following are the chief articles :—

“Art. I. The provinces of Río de la Plata, assembled in congress,
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renew by their deputies, in the most solemn manner, the compact by which they bound themselves on the throwing off the Spanish yoke, and forming themselves into an independent nation, again declaring their resolution to do their utmost to secure their independence, and promote the general felicity.

2. They shall henceforward be called "The United Provinces of South America."

3. Till the promulgation of the intended constitution, the provinces shall be governed, in their internal affairs, by their own institutions.

4. Every thing relating to the national independence, security, defence, and prosperity, the value of the coin, weights and measures, the internal relations of the provinces with each other, and their foreign relations with any other government or nation, belongs to the congress.

5. The congress shall make successively the necessary regulations respecting the points mentioned in the preceding article.

6. The constitution which the congress shall sanction shall be offered to the consideration of the provincial legislatures, and it shall not be promulgated or enforced till it shall have been accepted in the form which the constitution shall determine.

7. The ratification of the constitution by two-thirds of the inhabitants of the provinces shall be sufficient for the establishment of the constitution in the provinces which ratify it.

8. For the present, and until the election of a national executive power, the government of Buenos Ayres shall be charged with it, with the following attributes:—

a. To direct every thing relative to foreign affairs, the nomination and reception of ministers, and the authorizing of those named.

b. To make treaties, with the advice of its ministers and of three members of the congress, giving an account to the congress, that it may ratify what has been done, if it approves of it.

c. To execute and communicate to all the governments the resolutions taken by the congress.

d. To submit to the consideration of the congress the measures which it shall judge advisable for the better despatch of the public business.

Only part of this project had been discussed.

The new denomination of "The United States of South America" was rejected, and that of "United Provinces of Rio de la Plata" preferred."

CHILI.—We have, in different parts of our work, pointed out the abyss towards which the Chilians had been led by the adoption of a constitution founded on merely abstract principles, incompatible with the acknowledged exigencies of the republic. This constitution has been wisely annulled, and a dictatorial provisional power has been confided to General Freyre, whose liberal sentiments are sufficiently known, to justify the expectation, on the part of the friends of liberty, that the continuance of the exceptional power with which the state has invested him, will not be of long duration. The exercise of this power has already been followed by beneficial results. It has calmed the apprehensions, repressed the insignificant ambition, and put an end to the dissensions which had every where been produced by the captious sophistry of the constitution of 1823. A considerable improvement is already perceptible in the administrative departments, as well as in the state of the public mind. But, before indulging the hopes excited by this change, the friends of America should convince themselves of the unequivocal return of Chili to the constitutional order, and that, released from a dictatorship which cannot be perpetuated without danger, her conduct harmonizes with that of the other states of America, and that, like them, she is worthy the blessing of

national independence and civil liberty. This period cannot be very distant; and the new constitution, now preparing by the congress recently convoked, will, we have no doubt, soon enable us to announce to our readers, that the momentary difficulties which paralyzed the regeneration of Chili, were only one of those transient clouds which, almost always, obscure the dawn of revolution. We shall, with a peculiar degree of satisfaction, fulfil this task, because we are impressed with the conviction, that Chili, as much as, and more than many others of the American states, possesses within herself the elements of a rapid and great prosperity.

PERU.—Peru had long attracted the observation of the world, by the importance of the military events of which it was the theatre, and the results they were calculated to produce. The moment is, at length, arrived when this beautiful country must command universal attention, by the manner in which it is preparing to form its internal constitution, and consolidate the structure of its independence, purchased at the expense of so much blood and so many sacrifices of every description. Peace and the enjoyment of all their civil rights are, at the same time, restored to the Peruvians, by a great man whose memory must ever be dear and sacred to them. It is stated that General Bolivar, immediately after annihilating the last Spanish soldiers, resigned the dictatorial power, which he had applied to the exclusive purpose of effecting the salvation of Peru, involving, perhaps, that of the whole of South America. All that he wishes to reserve to himself is his claim to the gratitude of every

generous heart: a claim founded on the devoted heroism, the noble disinterestedness, and the eminent wisdom with which, in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, he has consulted no other interest than that of the common cause. This event restores to Peru the free exercise of all her national prerogatives, and opens to her a new career, in which we will follow her step by step, with all the attention due to interests of such magnitude, and to the obligations we have contracted towards our readers of both hemispheres, impartially to communicate to them all the acts of internal and external policy which, in our humble opinion, may militate for, or against the new American states.

COLOMBIA.—There are circumstances which occasionally impose the painful duty of censuring the conduct of our best friends. Such is the necessity under which we are placed, at the present moment, in respect to the republic of Colombia, whose internal and external policy has, we think, for some time, deviated from the path within which her real interests imperiously require her to confine herself. The independence of the republic of Colombia is, unquestionably, completely established, and her return to a state of slavery is scarcely possible; but has her government already resolved all the questions connected with her independence, and has it so irrevocably fixed the destinies of the country, as to allow her, to separate from the common cause, and avow principles of a nature unaccountably analogous to those which she has opposed, during fifteen years, and to the destruction of which she owes her liberty? We cannot believe this. We are, on the contrary, convinced that every measure,

every disposition, the tendency of which, whilst it is injurious to any part whatever of America, is favourable to European prejudices or pretensions, is, not only an act of vanity equally ridiculous and precipitate, but also a serious fault on the part of a country still in a state of agitation, and which should endeavour to conciliate the friendship of its neighbours, whose cause is identified with its own, instead of flattering the superannuated pretensions of distant cabinets incapable of accomplishing any thing either for or against it. Such, however, is the nature of the circumstances in which the Colombian government, by its contracted and injudicious policy, has just placed itself, in respect to the republic of Hayti, that it has drawn upon Colombia the disaffection of a nation on her coasts, with which she is connected by the same great interests, and whose alliance would be most valuable to her. And she has been induced to act thus, in order to adapt her policy to the principles of the Holy Alliance, and to please the French government, which certainly is not disposed to acknowledge much obligation to her for a conduct in which it perceives only timidity. This strange contradiction of principles has been noticed by a respectable English political writer, who has exhibited it in its real point of view, and whose opinion we think, it will not be irrelevant to insert.

“ We were not pleased the other day to observe the tone of the message of the Colombian vice-president to congress, respecting the black republic. The Haytians had, it seems, earnestly sought from Colombia a recognition of their independence, which the government of the latter had refused, for fear of giving offence to France. We think this neither politic nor generous. The Colom-

bians have nothing to fear from France—or rather, they have neither more nor less to fear, whether they recognize Haytian independence or not. The French government, as a part of the Holy Alliance, would crush liberty in South America, if it could, as it would crush liberty every where else: its desire to do so is bounded only by its means; but the acknowledgment of Hayti by Colombia would add nothing to those means. The ministers of Charles X. it appears, already sent spies to Colombia, as well as to others of the new republics, for the purpose of fomenting dissensions, and finding out their weak points. Does it then become the Colombian authorities to abstain from doing an act of justice and consistency, for fear of offending a government which is so conducting itself towards them? Do they dread invasion? The Holy Alliance has already abundant longing to attack them—their only security (happily an ample one) is their power of repelling attack. Do they apprehend injury to their commerce? An idle fear—since France is too much alive to her own interests to refuse commercial intercourse with Colombia, because the latter throws another impediment in the way of the now hopeless re-subjugation of her former colony. The French Bourbons may have a hankering after their old dominion in St. Domingo—they may be reluctant entirely to abandon the idea of once again re-possessioning it: but every thing shows, not only the insanity of the project, but their own conviction of its desperate character. They were willing the other day to treat with the envoys of President Boyer for the recognition of Hayti, on condition of a merely nominal supremacy being reserved to the king of France: they seemed anxious only to escape the humiliation which a formal sanction of “successful rebellion” would inflict on legitimate pride.

Though we cannot however see the smallest injury or even danger to Colombia from a recognition on her part of Haytian independence, we feel strongly the beneficial importance of such a step to the black republic. It would have put an end to any remaining hopes of re-conquest that may be entertained in France; it would have raised Hayti in national rank; it would have led the

way to a like recognition on the part of other commercial nations; it would have greatly tended to restore confidence and tranquillity to the free blacks, who now are in a state of uneasiness and active martial preparation. And would not the doing all this have been both honourable and useful to Colombia herself? Nations find their account in good character, as well as individuals. To set the world a noble example by an act of generosity and spirit, may redound to the profit as well as to the honour of a state. By the proposed recognition, Colombia would have gained respect from both her friends and enemies: even the French Ultras would have been inclined to treat her with greater consideration. She would have obtained the warm gratitude of the Haytians, and secured the lasting advantage of their commercial preference. We see what joy the acknowledgment of their independence by England has diffused among the Colombians themselves, though it had long been certain that it was coming, and though the United States had the benefit of setting the example. But how much greater would be the effect of a first recognition upon a people unjustly condemned and neglected as the Haytians have been,—a people shut as it were out of the pale of nations, not by insignificance or barbarism, but by a most galling prejudice?

If however Colombia is to blame for adopting the suggestions of narrow-minded timidity, in preference to a consistent, spirited, and respectable policy, there are other countries which have not even the excuse she puts forth. England and the United States are above all fear of the offence France might take at an act justified by notorious circumstances, due to their own character, and conducive to their interests. On the principle professed by both—that of regarding actual independence as a sufficient ground for recognition—the acknowledgment should have been made years ago, before Colombia or Mexico had attempted that separation from the mother-country which we have now formally admitted as complete and final. Nor can any dread of the effect of an open treaty with the emancipated negroes upon the minds of their enslaved brethren in our colonies, be admitted as a reason against

striking one. The wretched slaves already *know* of the independent existence and prosperity of the black republic near them; and whether we enter into formal commercial relations with the latter or not, the effect of the contrast with their own condition, in respect to *personal freedom and happiness* (which is all they can be supposed to think of) is neither increased nor diminished. The unenlightened Africans in our West India islands cannot understand the niceties of diplomatic etiquette; it would be difficult to explain to them how the residence of a British Consul or Envoy at Port-au-Prince strengthened the securities of the Haytian state; but even if they could understand it, such an evidence of liberality on the part of the whites towards the negro race, would surely tend to soothe rather than to irritate their minds; their *esprit de corps* would be flattered; they would feel the same sort of gratification which a poor Irish catholic would derive from the return of a rich one to parliament, after the repeal of the law of exclusion—the sense of belonging to a degraded *caste* would be mitigated.

“It is now sixteen years since the French were expelled from Hayti, after a succession of sanguinary and devastating wars between them and the blacks, which had endured from the commencement of the French revolution. In these sixteen years, “the Haytians have made a progress in civilization and intellectual improvement, nearly, if not altogether, unparalleled in the history of the world.” Such are the words of a report made by its committee to a society in the United States called the “American Convention for the Abolition of the Slavery and the Improvement of the African Race;” a report which contains many interesting facts in support of this cheering view. Public free schools are established in the island, to a greater extent, as compared with the wants of the population, than in European countries. The ability with which the journals are edited, we have before remarked upon in the Examiner: some editors in the United States (we learn by the report just quoted) refused at one time to believe that the real writers of the Haytian papers could be the negroes who

were the ostensible ones; but the fact has been established upon satisfactory evidence. The rate at which the population has increased is very remarkable, and supplies the most conclusive proof of internal prosperity and the comfortable condition of the people. In 1790, the number of blacks and whites together, in both the Spanish and French districts, was, by a high estimate, 665,000 in 1824, according to the official census, it was 935,335; giving an increase of very near 50 per cent. in the space of thirty-five years, seventeen or eighteen of which were passed amid the most horrible civil wars. This progress will appear the more important, when we recollect that the enslaved population in the British colonies, taken altogether, is annually decreasing. The state of the labouring class in Hayti is perhaps a better test than any other circumstance, of the happy and flourishing condition of the republic. "Trying the condition of the Haytians by this test" (says the American Report already referred to) "it would appear decidedly better than that of the people of any European nation; and the citizens of the United States would be able to boast of no striking predominance. The wages of labourers in the Haytian sea ports are one dollar per day; and the price of provisions nearly the same as in our own ports." The industry of the emancipated negroes is apparent from the rapid increase and very considerable amount of their exports and their commerce. After abundantly supplying its inhabitants with provisions of all kinds, Hayti in 1822 exported coffee, sugar, and cotton, to the value of more than two millions sterling; imported to the amount of nearly three millions; and levied 678,000*l.* in custom duties upon the imports and exports. The arguers for the perpetuation of negro slavery in our West India islands have always relied mainly on the pretended fact, that emancipated blacks would never support themselves by their labour:—that pretence (like the equally absurd one, that the free negroes would never even maintain their numbers without importation!)—is now annihilated. The Haytians have vindicated the character and capabilities of the African race, in a manner which has surpassed the anticipations of their

most sanguine advocates among the whites, and which history will certainly record as astonishing, even in comparison with the progress of other nations.

“On the first day of the present session of parliament, Mr. Brougham very properly noticed the non-recognition of Haytian independence, in connection with the ministerial self-glorifyings in regard to the acknowledgment of the South American republics. Ministers however carefully avoided the topic : what indeed can they say, in the midst of their treaties with Colombia, Buenos Ayres, &c. founded expressly on the principle of actual independence? There is one thing in particular which ought to inspire the British government, and the British people, with the kindest feelings towards the Haytians. It is, that with all their opportunities, and their natural sympathies with their enslaved brethren, they have never once attempted to disturb the tranquillity of our West India islands, nor given the slaves the slightest reason to expect their support or countenance in any attempt to throw off the yoke.

“We conclude this article with a summary of the most recent intelligence from Hayti : it is not a little gratifying, that almost every successive arrival from that island brings further corroboration of the truth of the strongest representations which have been made of the prosperity of the people, and the admirable policy of their government :—

“By letters from Port-au-Prince, we learn that the emigrants who had arrived there from the United States have been not only well received by the government, but that every facility has been afforded by the native inhabitants. As most of the emigrants are of the protestant faith, it was feared at first by the president, that there would be some difficulty in inducing the Haytians to associate cordially with them. This fear, however, was vain : every where the most tolerant spirit is evinced. General Borgelia, at the last anniversary of Haytian independence, strongly recommended this line of conduct, observing that the emigrants, although professing another creed, were children of the same father, whom

they worshipped with equal fervour but with different rites. General Inginac, the secretary of the president, a man of colour, has recently commenced a literary and political work, called *Le Propagateur Haytien*, which is written in a style that would not disgrace the most enlightened man in Europe. The agents of the Mining and Trading St. Domingo Company had arrived at Port-au-Prince from England, and had been favourably received."

GLOBE AND TRAVELLER.

As we have already indulged the expression of censure, we may, perhaps, as well exhaust what we have to say on this subject; for we are not very fond of being often obliged to distribute blame to men to whom we have offered, and to whom we certainly shall, on many occasions continue to offer the tribute of well-deserved praise. Why was not Colonel Infante punished, three months ago, for the horrible murder of Lieutenant Perdomo, whom he atrociously assassinated, on the 23rd of July last? Why was not punishment also inflicted on the ex-president of the high court martial, who so audaciously prevaricated in the exercise of his functions, and committed such an abuse of power as to protect guilt against the operation of the laws? What, in short, can be the motives which, before the eyes of the government and national congress, paralyze justice, secure impunity to a manifest crime, and openly insult public morals? The following is the statement which the *Constitutional* of Bogota gives of that affair:—

"The result of all this is, that on the 23d of July last year; the horrible murder of Lieut. Perdomo was committed; the people unanimously on the following morning accused Colonel Infante as the murderer; but the enemies of order and the respect due to the laws, said that nothing would be done to the colonel; that

there were no laws for him ; and some days after the opinion was general that he would get quit of it, because Dr. Pena had openly declared himself his protector.

“ The true friends of the republic contradicted these reports, as injurious to the consolidation of our system, to the honour of the nation in general, of the field-officers composing the court-martial which was to judge the criminal, and of the first court of justice in the nation, which was to examine the sentence. Nevertheless, one man alone continues to act in defiance of public opinion, of a highly respectable portion of the army, of the first court of justice in the republic of which he himself is a member, and of the existing laws ; and the reports which appeared absurd five months ago, if they have not been actually realized, have done us almost all the harm they could in the eyes of the nations who are observing us. We hope that congress will, however, as soon as possible, remove entirely the cause of this most intolerable state of confusion.”

‘ Another observation, and, for the present, we release the Colombian government from our censure : the following has been applied to it, by one of our cotemporaries, whose opinion we certainly adopt on this subject :—Complaints are made in Bogota of erroneous principles having been adopted in the formation of the customs’ tariff of Colombia, as well as of certain aggravations, which the system has received from the manner in which it is executed. The first objection stated is, that the import duties have been fixed too high ; and from this fact the English reader will be at no loss to draw the necessary inferences—that a considerable check has been given to legal importation, and a proportional bounty offered to the smuggler. Another source of dissatisfaction has been, that the scale according to which the value of the

goods is estimated is incorrectly drawn up. The valuations, by what we can gather, are permanent, instead of being adjusted to the fluctuations of the market, and to the incessant shifting in the price of goods; as, for instance, cotton goods imported, and subject by law to an *ad valorem* duty of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., are valued so high by the Colombian officers, as to extract from the importer a duty of 27 or 28 per cent., to the enormous injury of the British manufacturer, of the merchant, and of the Colombian consumer himself, whose comforts experience a corresponding diminution from the superadded price. The motive to this official overcharge is manifestly a paternal care of the revenue; and, indeed, we suspect that it would be quite impossible to teach the custom-house officers as a body, any more enlightened method of promoting the public good. But if low duties are, as they have proved themselves, the most liberal feeders of the national finance, undoubtedly this custom-house expedient for building one high tax upon another, must have a fearful tendency in the opposite direction. It appears from the Bogota statements, that smuggling is the only trade which has profited much by these unfortunate practices of the Colombian customs, and that the receipts into the treasury are, for the same reason, deplorably out of comparison with the magnitude of the duties. Such a consequence could never have been meditated by the congress of Colombia, nor by the government. The evil, too, is the more to be lamented, because the bulk of the revenue in that country is derived from taxes on importation.

With respect to the other charge hinted at above, we mean the *bona fide* adoption of the *ad valorem*

scale, estimated by the actual price of the article, and not by the exacting spirit of the Custom-house, there is on the face of it this objection, viz. the possibility that the merchant might underrate the cost, for the sake of a fraudulent reduction of the duty. The remedy would, on the other hand, be simple enough; namely, giving an option to the Custom-house to take the goods at the merchant's valuation, paying him 10 per cent. over, as profits of trade. This, with a general reduction of duties, it is conceived, would be a sufficient guarantee against fraud, a queller of smuggling, an encouragement to fair and open commerce, and an immediate stimulant to the revenue. If, as we once already observed, the government of Old Spain, or the revenue department of Old France, had been concerned, we should have despaired of convincing their reason or prevailing over their inveteracy on questions like this. But infant republics, if they labour under some of the disadvantages belonging to another kind of infancy, have at least its freedom from prejudice to redeem them.

Let us, however, hope that these deviations will not pass into a system, and that the republic of Colombia, which owes its liberty to the valour of Bolivar, will also be indebted to the eminent wisdom of this great man for the blessing of being brought back within the sphere of its natural connexions. It is impossible that the friend, the liberator of the Americans, the man whose heroism in battle is equalled only by his patriotism, and by the prudence which he displays in councils, should be deceived respecting the nature and serious importance of the situation in which his country would be placed, if it persisted in the ungenerous, and

completely anti-American policy, to which, we admit, it has made only one concession; but which, however, is one concession too much, and involving a capital fault. Woe to any one of the new American states, in which such a system should prevail! it would be nothing less than an introduction to its return to slavery.

The plan of the Colombian Colonization Society has now been made public. It appears that a law passed the congress of that republic on the 11th June, 1823, investing the government with authority to dispose of lands, and grant privileges for the purpose of facilitating emigration. Under this law, two grants of land have been made, in different districts of Colombia, of which the association has become possessed, amounting to upwards of a million of English acres. By the same law, and for the same purpose, various privileges are conferred on persons coming out as settlers, the principal of which are exemptions from contributions and tithes during six years, and from export duties on the produce raised by them for the same period. The association also extends its views to the formation of roads, and other objects not immediately connected with colonization. Whatever the issue of it may be as a mere medium for the employment of capital, it is evident that the undertaking, if judiciously conducted, will be productive of great benefits to Colombia, and tend to advance with an accelerated pace the prosperity of this rising country. Care has been taken to provide that the settlers shall not be molested on the score of religious belief.

GUATIMALA.—The republic of Guatimala is erect-

ing its independence and liberty without opposition, violence or troubles. In our preceding Number, we entered into the particulars of the wise and liberal measures adopted by the government, to facilitate the colonization of foreigners in the territory of the republic. We have now nothing to add to what we then said upon the administration of this country. The first congress was installed the 5th April, in the midst of festivities and public acclamations. We will communicate the particulars of the subsequent acts of this congress.

MEXICO.—Nothing conveys a more instructive lesson to the other South American states, than the acts that mark each step by which Mexico advances in her political regeneration. Their simple eloquence, independent of the influence of rhetoric, imparts to them a more powerful meaning, because they are followed by an immediate application to the welfare of the citizens. This country, which is one of the ancient Spanish possessions whose form of government has undergone the greatest number of vicissitudes, is now in a state of perfect tranquillity. The whole population evince a sincere attachment to the present order of things, and a determination to oppose every attempt to effect a change. On their part, the government and congress are applying, with unremitting energy, to the formation of good laws founded upon the new federal constitution, which appears, in every respect, adapted to the views, the rights, and the exigencies of the Mexican people.

The debates of congress, on questions of the highest importance, exhibit the most luminous developments,

and a profound knowledge in political and economical science; and we are informed that many of the members distinguish themselves in extemporaneous speaking, and frequently excite astonishment by their erudition and eloquence. But what principally characterizes the acts both of the congress and executive power, is, justice, prudence, and moderation. Some of their most remarkable measures deserve to be mentioned. One relates to the exportation of gold and silver, which, some months past, a member of the congress proposed to prohibit, lest the country should be exhausted of these precious metals. A commission was appointed to examine this last question, and, according to the report, the proposition was rejected: but this report is so replete with excellent reasoning, that we insert an extract from it, to enable our readers to form an opinion of the administrative knowledge of the Mexican legislative assembly.

..... "A duty imposed on the exportation of the precious metals can," observe the commissioners, "have but one or two objects; that of increasing the revenue of the state, or that of preventing the exportation of its metals. The precious metals cannot be given to foreigners for nothing: they must be paid for by the produce of the manufactures of their country. The price of foreign merchandise is reduced, as much as possible, by competition. Still, however, the foreign merchant cannot sell with loss. If, therefore, the articles which he takes, in exchange for his goods, are subjected to duties which raise their price, he is obliged to raise that also of his goods: he has then no other alternative but that of relinquishing commerce: and in no case, would the treasure of the Mexican people gain by imposing duties on gold and silver."

"Let us suppose, on the other hand, that these duties are imposed, in order to prevent the exportation: what advantage would Mexico gain? Gold and silver would lose their value. A bushel of wheat is as valuable when it costs only 8 francs, as when it costs 15 or 18. What benefit would there be in proposing a law which would occasion this measure of wheat to be represented by 15 or 18 francs, instead of 8? Besides which, a great abundance of silver would be useless to a country; it would injure its foreign trade: for silver, having little value, in the estimation of the nation, it would sell its produce at a low price in the foreign markets. In short, it would be as absurd to prevent the exportation of silver from Mexico, as to prevent the exportation of sugar from the Indies, and that of tobacco from the United States. In addition to this, the loans contracted with foreign capitalists are founded upon the assurances we have given them that no obstacles should be opposed to the exportation of the metals extracted from our mines."

On the 17th March, the members of the supreme court of justice took the official oath, which was administered by the president of the republic, in the most solemn manner.

On the day before, an editor, indicted for seditious publications, was acquitted by the jury. "This," says the Sun of Mexico, of the 19th April, "is one of the triumphs of public opinion, which dearly prove the advances which are making."

The great subject of the liberty of the press was under consideration, in the house of representatives.

The news of the British recognition of Mexican independence was received every where in the republic with extraordinary exultation. It was the subject of mutual addresses between the president and congress, and of congratulation to the latter from various

state legislature; a day was set apart for national rejoicing in reference to it, and it appears to have been generally considered as the complete guarantee of all interests.

Mr. Ward, the bearer of the British recognition, arrived at Vera Cruz, bringing full powers to conclude a treaty of commerce, as commissioner associated with Mr. Morier; and the secretary of foreign affairs and treasury, has been appointed by the president to negotiate with them a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Mexico,

We observe also, with much pleasure, a petition to the general congress, signed by thirty-five of the principal mercantile houses of the Mexican capital, against the high rates of the customs. It is an able paper, full of sound principles and reasoning adverse to the system of restrictions and prohibitions. We learn that the government is likely to revise and modify the tariff upon a more liberal and productive scheme of policy.

UNITED STATES.—Our readers already know what a degree of angry discussion the election of the chief magistrate of the United States, has excited between the friends of the successful and the partisans of the disappointed candidate. We are far from thinking like those who regard the election of John Quincy Adams as a national calamity, nor as an outrage to a majority of the American people. We shall not indulge in any useless reflexions upon the expression of indignant feeling which has been elicited, from that circumstance, on the part of those who were opposed to John Quincy Adams; but we are confident that the well known firmness, discretion, and wisdom of that

statesman, perfectly qualify him for the fulfilment of the important duty which is imposed on him by the confidence of his fellow-citizens.

The following is the judicious address of Mr. Adams to the committee appointed to communicate to him his elevation to the presidential chair.

Gentlemen,—In receiving this testimonial from the representatives of the people and states of this union, I am deeply sensible of the circumstances under which it has been given. All my predecessors in the high station to which the favour of the house now calls me, have been honoured with majorities of the electoral voices in their primary colleges. It has been my fortune to be placed, by the divisions of sentiment prevailing among our countrymen on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honourable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favour; and of whose worth, talents, and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the house, in concurrence with my own—names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them further recommended by a larger minority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine.

In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust thus delegated to me give an immediate opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal; I shall, therefore, repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country, signified through her constitutional organs—oppressed with the magnitude

of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow-citizens which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the legislative councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty; and relying, above all, upon the superintending providence of that Being ‘in whose hand our breath is, and whose are all our ways.’

Gentlemen, I pray you to make acceptable to the house the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accept yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated to me their decision.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.”

Washington, Feb. 10.

WAR AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

[The abundance of matter obliges us to confine our military section to the Bulletin of the present war. The continuation of the historical part will appear in our next Number.]

BULLETIN OF THE PRESENT WAR.

This Bulletin of the present war is probably the last we shall give to our readers. Human blood has ceased to flow in the cause of American independence; and the issue of the great struggle, which was to decide whether the world should be eternally doomed to the despotism of tyranny, or whether the moment is, at length, arrived, when it is to be governed by the influence of justice and liberty, is such as was foreseen, and such as must certainly have been desired by all good men. The 9th of December, the Spanish power ceased to exist in America. The plains of Guamanquilla have witnessed the complete destruction of that colossus of pride which, for three centuries, oppressed the New World; and the empires of the Incas and Montezuma are now as free from the Spanish yoke, as they were at the period before Cortez and Pizarro approached their shores.

In this glorious day, which will decide the fate of a thousand future generations, the liberating army, commanded by General Sucre, annihilated all that remained

of those Castilian warriors who, as we have already said, were worthy to defend a nobler cause. This army has completed the last monument requisite to commemorate the glory and liberty of the Americans. Soon the brave men who compose it will return to the bosom of their families; and, after having, by their heroism, acquired the esteem of the world, we have no doubt that they will confer a still more valuable benefit, by setting the example of the civil virtues.

The American governments should certainly not be too precipitate in disbanding their armies: their liberty, still in its infancy, requires to be consolidated, and must be protected by a state of defence sufficiently powerful to awe its enemies, and even to exclude the hope of ever again disturbing it. These governments should, however, consider that, in a time of peace, great standing armies are a political contradiction in a republic which ought to contain the greatest number of citizens, and the least possible number of soldiers, and that nothing but imperious necessity can justify the existence of such armies.

Among all the accounts published respecting the battle of Ayacucho we have selected two which appear to us the most calculated, one to authenticate this memorable event, and the other to give a correct statement of all the circumstances connected with it. We here present them to our readers.

REPUBLIC OF PERU.

MINISTRY OF WAR AND MARINE.

Lima, December 18, 1824.

TO THE INTENDANT AND COMMANDANT GENERAL OF PANAMA.

"It is extremely satisfactory to me to apprise you, by order of his Excellency the Liberator, charged with the dictatorial power,

that at the hour of 5 o'clock in the evening various despatches have been received, and among them one from General Santa Cruz, confirming the complete rout of the Spanish army on the 9th instant at Guamanquilla. The Viceroy La Serna, and Generals Canterac and Valdez, have been taken prisoners, the first being seriously wounded; the second (Canterac) having succeeded him in the command, capitulated to the Commander-in-Chief, General Sucre, and in consequence gave orders to the governor of Callao to place the forts at the disposal of his Excellency the Liberator, and to the other Spanish Chiefs on all sides to submit to the general. Lieut. Colonel Medina, Aid-de-Camp of his Excellency, who carried the despatches of General Sucre, the capitulations and the orders of General Canterac, was attacked and killed on his journey by some rebels; but the moment I receive them I will transmit them to you. These flattering and extraordinary successes, his Excellency the Liberator orders me to tell you, release our intimate ally, the republic of Colombia, from any new sacrifices to assist the republic in the war which, till the 9th instant, it carried on with the Spanish power in this part of America. His Excellency considers quite sufficient the four thousand men of the expedition from Panama to secure the independence and liberty of Peru. Colombia remains as free from the occupations which she had in the south as Peru obliged for the assistance which she has received from her in the melancholy epoch of her calamities. In consequence, his Excellency the Liberator commands me to say, that if you have any reinforcements to send to Peru, or you should in future receive any for that purpose, you are to hold them at the disposal of the government of Colombia, in order to determine what shall be done with them, as existing circumstances render such reinforcements unnecessary.

I am your obedient servant,

T. DE HERES."

The following is a letter from General Millo, an
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English officer in the Colombian service, who held a command in the great battle of Ayacucho, in which he highly distinguished himself, to a friend in Lima :—

Quenoa, four leagues north of Guamanga, Dec. 11, 1824.

“I have written you long letters from Challunca, Marmara, Chenchegues, Andegueylas, and Uripa. If those letters reach you, you will be in possession of most of the particulars of the movements of our army up to the end of last month, and of the error we committed after the affair of Junin, by not rapidly following up the enemy, and destroying Canterac's force before Valdez could have joined him from Potosi. You will also learn of our retrograde movement from Lombrama to Uripa, and of the confusion and sudden change of the prospects of our hopes, which the offensive operations of the royalists created amongst us, by the advance on Guamanga. As soon as the viceroy ascertained that we had not commenced a Santa Cruz retreat, and knew our position, fearing that we might direct our course to Cusco, he counter-marched from the vicinity of Guamanga toward Andegueylas, and both armies met at the bridge of Begucos, as I stated in my last. La Serna thought to entrap us in the valley of Pornocochas, for which purpose he moved a few leagues to his right, that we might descend the *quebrada*, where he intended to attack us, but, luckily he could not effect his purpose,

“We arrived at Malara (six leagues from Uripa) before the enemy, and offered him battle on equal terms; but La Serna determined to play the sure game, and convinced he could destroy us without risking a general action, declined attacking us, and continued his advance, out-flanking our right, or rather left, when retreating. We pursued our retrograde movement on the 3d, and on that very evening were attacked, under very disadvantageous circumstances, whilst defiling down a *quebrada* two leagues to the northward of Malara. We lost, in this affair, the general depot, our field pieces, nearly all the baggage of the army, and about five hundred killed,

wounded, and missing, whilst the casualties of the royalists did not exceed thirty.

"This blow naturally created a damp upon the spirits of our troops, and what still increased our uneasiness, was certain information received that La Serna did not bring with him less than ten thousand effective troops. We continued to fall back on this plain, the enemy always on our left flank, and taking daily many prisoners, and much baggage. Battle was again offered him in Cautigillo, but he a second time declined it. Our situation became more desperate every day; the Peruvians had begun to desert; and our cavalry tired and disgusted at being obliged to walk on foot, having lost their horses. The mules, *de marcha*, had all been lost, or taken by the enemy, and not a horse-shoe or nail were to be had for love or money. Our army being arrived at this place, the enemy placed himself in Guamanguilla, two leagues to the northward, and thus completely cut off our further retreat, even were we in a state to continue it. The aspect of our affairs became gloomy in the extreme. We could not have existed six days in this position, for want of provisions; and either to have moved on the enemy, or to have counter-marched towards Andeguaylas or Guamanga, would have been certain perdition. The enemy was confident of our destruction. He had sent strong detachments towards Marco, Mayoe, and other directions, to cut and destroy the bridges and roads to prevent the escape of a single individual. The Indians of Huanta, Huancabilla, Churcheros, and neighbouring towns, had all risen against us, and daily accounts being received of their having assassinated our stragglers and small detachments, sometimes it was impossible to procure a guide. The *morale* of our troops, also, began most perceptibly to relax, and many deserted to the enemy; disagreeable news was received from the coast, as well as that one thousand five hundred royalists were on their march from Cusco, to reinforce La Serna. In fact, every thing indicated our ruin; neither was it likely that generalship would save us.

"Under these critical circumstances, the royalists, flushed with

their superiority, attacked us, certain of success. Our position was a plain of about two miles' circumference, and in our rear, a gradual descent to a vast *quebrada*. La Serna and Canterac, with two divisions, advanced in our front, descended the hill, whilst Valdez, with two squadrons and four battalions, attacked our left. The royalists were attacked on all sides, nearly at the same moment, in the most gallant manner, and greatest possible order, and after one hour and twenty minutes hard, very hard, fighting, were completely routed—the viceroy wounded and taken prisoner. Canterac, Valdez, Carratala, Monet, Ferrez, and four or five more generals, with other officers and about five hundred or six hundred men, who were united after the action, with some difficulty capitulated, giving us possession of Peru, from Tumbay to Desaguadero. Ten pieces of artillery were taken from the enemy during the action. We had but one miserable four-pounder to return their fire. Our cavalry behaved nobly—that of Colombia advanced in the intervals formed by our columns of infantry on the right, and that of Peru charged, and routed two battalions of Valdez' van, which had reached the plain on which we had formed, and actually began to flank our right. All, and every body, behaved well. General Cordoba, a youth of twenty-five, with his division, stood the brunt, and indeed, it may be said, decided the action. He was most justly made a general of division on the field of battle. I charged at the head of the hussars of Junin, and repulsed Valdez, who at first had driven back our infantry. The hussars advanced in the most gallant manner, and their good conduct has drawn forth unlimited praise from the general-in-chief, and the whole army.

“The enemy brought into the field seven thousand two hundred infantry and one thousand three hundred cavalry, whilst our disposable force only amounted to five thousand six hundred and twenty-seven, including one thousand cavalry. Since leaving Andegueylas our effective force has decreased one thousand two hundred men. The royalist army was composed of excellent men, well clothed, and well equipped; their *morale*, far from

being bad, was the reverse ; and General Valdez has assured me there were only eight hundred recruits. The battle, fought near Quenoa, is called Ayacucho (*reunion de los muertos*), because that is the name of the *pampa* where it took place, and is not more than a quarter of a mile from the village. Without doubt, it is the most glorious, the most important, and the most military action ever fought in South America. Had the Spaniards gained it, the struggle in Peru for independence must have been protracted for years and years to come ; and even Chili and Colombia would have trembled for their safety. La Serna, Canterac, and Valdez, deserve great credit for having brought their troops to such a degree of perfection. Their cavalry, in equipment and discipline, is, perhaps, little inferior to the British, and that is saying all that is possible that can be said in their favour. The viceroy, Valdez, Canterac, Monet, Garcia, Comba, and several others, are anxious to return to Europe. Olaneta styles himself general *en jefe del exercito real en Peru*. He may have from three thousand to four thousand men. Unless we take active measures against him at once, he may yet cause much trouble : probably upwards of one thousand of Canterac's *dispersed* may unite with him, if they be not pursued."

In consequence of the treaty concluded between La Serna and Sucre at Ayacucho, an officer was sent with a flag of truce, to summon the fortress of Callao, but was not admitted beyond the out-posts of the Spanish force ; and General Rodil, who commanded in the place, refused to receive any propositions for a surrender. By command of the president Bolivar, the commissioner of the government and of the Spanish army which capitulated at Ayacucho, then repaired on board his majesty's ship Cambridge, which cast anchor out of the reach of cannon-shot from Callao. The commander, Captain Maling, afforded every facility for this negotiation, and forwarded a note to the go-

vernor of Callao, explaining the nature of the propositions about to be made to him, and offering his ship for carrying on the conferences, if Rodil chose to send commissioners on board. The reply of the governor was a refusal of all mediation: he even expressed a doubt of the events of Ayacucho, and added a strong protest that he would never admit communications, under cover of a flag of truce, from the enemies of his king. There remaining no longer any hope of a successful issue, the Cambridge sailed out of the harbour, and landed the commissioners at Chorillos from whence they returned to Lima.

An extraordinary Number of the Argus of Buenos Ayres, contains the following convention for an armistice between Olaneta and General Sucre. It had received the ratification of the former, but not that of the Colombian general.

Art. 1. There shall be a suspension of hostilities during four months between the royal and liberating armies.

2. During that time the armies shall remain in their present positions, one to the north, the other to the south, of the Desaguadero. The line of demarcation shall be the same as that which has hitherto divided the two viceroyalties.

3. Colonel Lanza shall occupy the interior of the vallies, or towns of Inquisive, and their vicinity as far as Palca. If any of his troops shall have approached as far as Yungas, they shall retire to the point marked out, leaving the territory subject to the government of La Paz, as well as those other towns of that province and that of Cochabamba, which were not in his power before the events of Ayacucho.

4. The district of Tarapaca, which belongs to the province of Arequipa, shall continue under the orders of the commander of the royal army.

5. In order that the territory of the province of Arequipa may not be dismembered in consequence of the foregoing article, the district of Apolobamba, belonging to this province, shall be incorporated with that of Puno. The undersigned commissioners shall be at liberty to retire with their property and families to Belcisa, in order to enable them to arrange their affairs; and the same privilege shall be acceded to any other inhabitants of the district.

6. The period of the armistice shall be reckoned from the date of the ratification by General Antonio Jose Sucre.

7. Should hostilities unfortunately be renewed, the campaign shall not recommence without eight days' notice given by either party.

8. The province of Salta is included in the suspension of hostilities and in the present armistice.

Paz, Jan. 12, 1825.

(Signed by the Commissioners,) JOSE MENDIZABAL E IMAS.

ANTONIO DE ELISALDE.

Head quarters at La Paz, Jan. 3, 1825.

Ratified in all its parts, PEDRO ANTONIO DE OLANETA.

(PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.)

Cadiz, April 29.

The *Zea*, a corvette of the Spanish royal navy, commanded by M. Hull, arrived the day before yesterday from Quilca, in Peru, after a voyage of one hundred and eighteen days. Captain Hull has landed alone, and the corvette has had no communication with the port: it has orders to fire upon any boats which may approach within a certain distance; and the owner of the boat is to pay a fine of 100 francs. Two hours after his landing, Captain Hull set out for Madrid, with despatches for the king. Yesterday arrived the *St. Lawrence* merchantman, in forty-seven days from Porto Rico: no communication is allowed with the port, and the captain has been fined 100 piasters for having communicated with a fishing-boat. Notwithstanding all these precautions, we have, however, heard at Cadiz, that there are on

board the *Zea* several officers of the armies of Canterac and La Serna—that the *Pezuela* sailed from Quilca for Spain four days before the *Zea*, likewise with some officers of the viceroy's army and lastly that the *St. Francis d' Assise* ship of the line, and the *Achilles* brig, had sailed from Lima for Manilla, to endeavour to check the spirit of opposition to the government of the Peninsula which showed itself in the island.

Madrid, May 5.

An express from Cadiz that arrived on the 3d has given rise to a report that a vessel from the coast of Peru had arrived in that port with a great many officers of La Serna's army, and a dozen monks, who seek refuge in Spain.

While vessels arrive in all the ports of Europe with the melancholy recital of our irreparable disasters in Peru, and others bring to Cadiz the remains of our armies, it is curious to see our government loudly proclaim an expedition of two regiments, fitting out at Corunna, to go, it is said, to reconquer Peru, where the armies of Canterac and La Serna have failed. But we must not be deceived respecting the object of this expedition, for it is not to Peru, on which our ministers think no longer, but to the Havannah that they mean to send it, to prevent, if possible, the emancipation of that rich colony.

TRADE AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Huskisson's Policy on the American and West Indian Trade.

The two speeches of Mr. Huskisson, respecting the reduction of the duties on importation, have conferred a benefit which sanctions the claim of this minister to the unceasing gratitude of the nation. These speeches, the legislative resolutions consequent upon them, and those to which they will necessarily lead, exhibit a new era in the existence of the first commercial empire in the world. We regret that we can give but a rapid sketch of these beautiful productions of political wisdom, which should be constantly present to the mind of every statesman, as a model worthy his imitation, and as a proof of the power with which he is invested of doing good. Mr. Huskisson, previously to entering upon the subject, observed that he had availed himself of every medium of advice and information, and that he was more than ever impressed with the conviction, that competition and liberty, in commercial relations, are the most effectual means of increasing the national prosperity. This principle he considered incontrovertible, and confidently submitted it to the investigation of every party interested in the subject; but he earnestly recommended the removal, as soon as possible, of every restraint with which commerce had been fettered by the influence of long established prejudices. As to himself, (Mr. Huskisson) he

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declared that, if he did not propose the complete repeal of the duties connected with these prejudices, he was not influenced by the conviction of preserving any advantage, but by the desire of averting the censure of acting with precipitation. In support of his opinion, respecting the necessity of repealing or considerably reducing the duties on importation in general, the minister observed, that he was confirmed in the propriety of his system by his experience of the preceding year. He also observed, that the reduction of the duties on silk had produced so good an effect, that the French manufacturers had already evinced their fears respecting goods of English manufacture; and that a considerable contraband trade was then carried on from the coast of Sussex to the coast of France. He, therefore, proposed the following reductions:—

Indian and European cotton goods, instead of 75 per cent., to pay only 10 per cent.; worsted goods, to be reduced from 50 to 15 per cent.; linen, dimity, &c. from 180 per cent. to 25 per cent. Mr Huskisson then proposed the reduction of a duty which he considered not less fatal than disgraceful to English legislation. He alluded to the duty on books published in foreign countries, on foreign paper. He proposed that the duty on stitched books should be reduced from 22d. to 6d. each book, on foreign paper; the duty on glass bottles from 18s. per dozen to 3s. per dozen; on all kinds of glass from 80 per cent. to 20 per cent.; upon earthenware, porcelaine, and other potteries, from 75 to 12 per cent. As to gloves and other articles of foreign produce, which were entirely prohibited, Mr. Huskisson proposed their importation, under a duty of 30 per cent. He also proposed a great reduction upon iron,

copper, pewter, and other foreign metallic substances. Duties similar to those upon importation in general were, said the minister, a real advantage to smugglers, who, for 30 per cent., undertook to deliver French goods at London, at the same price for which they might be purchased at Paris. Should we not, said the minister, immediately abolish a system which creates a species of industry contrary to the laws of the country, destroys the morals of too numerous a class, and wounds the commercial interest? Such a system was and would continue to be more injurious than beneficial to the revenue, even if other nations should refuse to adopt the same measures of reciprocity.

Mr. Huskisson terminated the enumeration of the duties which he proposed to repeal with that on *quarantine* and *transfer*; and recommended that consuls, instead of an eventual sum, on arrivals, should be allowed a fixed stipend.

From these considerations of detail, relating more particularly to Europe than to other parts of the world, Mr. Huskisson entered upon the great question of the colonial trade; in the discussion of which he displayed all the force of logical reasoning, with the ardour of general benevolence, and the feelings of an Englishman. On a subject involving interests of so complicated a nature, it is impossible to throw more light, or more victoriously to combat the errors of the old system. This passage in Mr. Huskisson's speech is particularly calculated to produce an impression upon our American readers, whose interests, although incidentally, are yet powerfully defended by this minister.

"Every gentleman who heard him must be aware that the system of colonial policy which had hitherto prevailed in all European

states in respect of their colonies, and in Spain and Holland, particularly in regard to their dependencies in the New World, had been this---to exclude such colonies from all commerce, except that which should be carried on with them to and from the parent state. (Hear.) He apprehended that the exclusive system had, in all European states, been considered to be of the very essence of their colonial policy. In the enforcement of it---he should be apt to say, in the rigid and even inhospitable enforcement---of such a policy, Spain, perhaps, of all those powers had been the most strict, and, if he might use the term, most exclusive. But there were other powers of Europe who had afterwards manifested that they were not less rigid, and less jealous in maintaining the same principle. Indeed, if he was not much mistaken, so universal had this national system of a colonial policy been considered, that it had been held to be a part of the international law of Europe. And, accordingly, it was laid down as the rule of the prize court on this subject, at some time during the continuance of the seven years' war, that no colony belonging to a state of war with another, could avail itself of the intervention of neutral vessels to carry on trade with any other but the parent state, because it was deemed that the neutral might be ultimately engaged in supplying the enemy of that parent state. To this extent had the rule of the old colonial policy of states been carried. But had no changes, he would ask---no extraordinary and momentous changes---occurred within the last few years in the character and condition of these colonies? The committee must, of course, be aware what was the situation of that vast colony, the Brazils, for example, in the year 1808, when the royal family of Portugal emigrated from Europe to South America. (Hear.) But he might go farther---What was the past and present situation of the great island of St. Domingo? What was the former state and the now actual condition of those extensive countries in the two Americas which were formerly the colonies of Spain, and with which all intercourse whatever was strictly prohibited by that crown to all the other countries of the world? All these colonies

had now formed themselves into independent states. (Hear.) But, what was the situation even of those two great dependencies that still retained allegiance to the Spanish monarch—namely, of Cuba and Porto-Rico? In these, also, extraordinary changes had taken place: and if gentlemen considered how much these alterations of circumstances must affect the commerce and the condition of all the world—how certainly the same causes must operate on our own trade, and must affect the feelings, and condition, and opinions of those whose interests were involved in that operation; he trusted that they would think he had made out a sufficient case to justify him in saying that parliament was now called upon to go into an inquiry such as he had the honour to recommend. In the effect of those general changes this country must participate; and, perhaps, by reason alone of the fact of such participation on her part, parliament was so called on to enter upon this important subject; but above all, they were called upon by that sort of compact which bound the stronger to protect the weaker, and by the pleasing prospects of realizing through such means, reciprocal advantages. Such considerations as these, however, belonged probably to a more general view of his subject than he at present intended to open; but at least, he felt bound in that committee to ask whether the changes he had alluded to had not proved beneficial to the colonies themselves? And whether, if they had so proved beneficial to the colonies themselves, they were not likely, in proportion as the principles of free trade should be carried still further, and be still more developed, to benefit the mother-country herself, who derived from them so much of her supplies. (Hear.) If the fact were so, he would ask whether it was possible that we, trading in the same productions, but maintaining the trade of these colonies at other duties than were imposed on our own trade with other countries, and meeting our colonial produce in other markets, therefore, under such different duties, could hope to continue a competition in those markets, in the long run successfully? He would ask, whether if they did continue this monopoly, and this exclusive system of duties, they would not

only be weakening the attachment of the colonies to the mother-country, but be weakening also the general commerce of the country itself? (Hear.) He demanded, therefore, whether this present system of monopoly and restriction was practically safe, and politically wise, in respect to the interests and the trade of the mother-country? Again he called upon the house to recollect the great political and commercial changes which had been going on during the last fifty years, and which had more or less affected all the countries extending from the St. Lawrence to Cape Horn; and to consider whether, amidst the number of reflections that would be excited by such changes as must affect a great maritime power like Great Britain, they were not called upon to view them particularly in relation to such immense possessions, both insular and continental, as we still retained in those parts of the New World? If they looked at the rapidly-increasing growth, and the present state of the commerce of the United States of America, then, again, the house must entertain the consideration of that commerce with a reference to the commerce, the trading interests, and the navigation of our own country. All these were matters which it peculiarly became those Hon. Gentlemen who had the interests, and who might be said to have the charge, of British commerce at heart, maturely to weigh and to consider. It had been for centuries the policy of all the great states of Europe, having dependencies which they held in the nature of colonies, to make the dependencies in all respects, altogether subservient to the interests, or the supposed interests, however, of the mother-country. He believed that he might safely say, there was no country which in the application of those principles of colonial policy that he had mentioned, and which were evidenced in the imposition of prohibitions on the one hand, and the grant of relaxations on the other, had proceeded with so much regularity as Great Britain."

Mr. Huskisson then entered into the history of the iniquitous system of restrictions to which Ireland had been subjected up to the period of the union, and even

to one more recent, (two years ago) that of the abolition of the duties known under the title of *Union duties*. He severely censured this false and unjust policy, which treated Ireland not only as ill as, but even worse than, any of the English colonial possessions. He adverted to the different petitions which, at various periods, had been presented to parliament by commercial cities against any concessions to Ireland; and, in allusion to the menaces and sinister predictions contained in these petitions against the security and prosperity of England, in the event of adopting a more liberal policy in respect to Ireland, he asked if any of them had been realized, or whether the contrary had not been the fact? And referring to a petition of this nature formerly presented by Liverpool, the minister called on the representative of this town to say whether, to the rapid growth of their trade and of their town, (an increase within the last thirty years almost without a parallel in the history of commercial improvement) any thing had more contributed than free trade with Ireland? a trade in which Liverpool participated more largely, possibly, than any other town in Great Britain, notwithstanding those very arguments which it put forth, at the first dawn of that free intercourse, to show that it could anticipate from such an event, nothing but its own annihilation.

The minister then referred to the epoch of the emancipation of the United States of America; and, considering this event under relations exclusively commercial, he begged to ask whether any Honourable Gentleman who heard him was of opinion that that event had been attended with any prejudice to our interest?

"If gentlemen thought that any such prejudice had been sustained by us, then he would ask the committee to consider the case of other colonies, also released from political thralldom, but still retaining their dependence on Great Britain; their seamen forming part of our seamen, their commercial marine part of ours, their population part of our people, and contributing largely to their support. Was it not worth while, in such instances, to give to those colonies all the benefit of a free trade, while they would still have the benefit of their former connexion with, and dependence on the British empire? Was it not worth while to form out of them, the advantages that must arise from such an accession of strength to the British empire, and the interests of British commerce, still preserving them in allegiance to the British crown?

"Seeing, then, what the United States of America now were, in point of commerce and navigation—looking to those vast states which were now forming in other parts of the continent of America—adverting to the immense changes that must be effected in all our commercial interests by the gradual consolidation of those altered relations which were now forming between the Old and New World—anticipating the prodigious commercial benefits that must now rapidly diffuse themselves over that boundless ocean which might be said to connect the western shores of one quarter of the globe with the eastern coasts of the other—and looking to the vital interest which Great Britain must always have in the maintenance of her maritime greatness, he hoped he should not be accused of harbouring any unfriendly feeling towards the United States of America, or any other power, or of contemplating any thing else but the fair and honourable race of commercial competition, in proceeding to consider by what means the commerce and navigation of Great Britain might be best secured against the navigation and commerce of other states. (Hear.) He should here state, that he thought the conclusion in which the committee must arrive from the premises he had stated, would be this—that a system of exclusion and monopoly did certainly tend to impede and cramp (at the least) the energies and the prosperity of

our colonies. He maintained, in the next place, that the legitimate inference to be drawn from that conclusion was, that any system having this tendency to cramp and impede the prosperity of our colonies, must be also prejudicial to the prosperity of the parent state, in all that concerned its commerce and navigation; because the parent state must be affected by that which operated on the prosperity of its colonial connexions, from whence it drew a portion of its supplies. Begging the committee to bear in mind this general conclusion and inference which he had drawn from the premises he had laid down, he next proceeded to consider what was the present state of our colonial system with respect to the commerce of our colonies—what relaxations of our colonial system and commercial monopoly in respect of the colonies had been already allowed—and what further relaxations of that system and monopoly he wished the committee to assent to."

Here the minister noticed the different acts relative to this system, passed during the reigns of George III. and IV., of which he advised either the amendment or the repeal. He also proposed various new modifications, and with a view to encourage our own trade and that of the colonies with other countries, he also proposed to establish, in certain parts of those colonies where the operation of the system could be most advantageously applied, the whole benefit of the warehousing system, such as it now existed in this country; by allowing goods from all parts of the world to be bonded, till convenient opportunities for exporting or re-exporting with advantage might offer.

"Looking to the present state of Spanish America, this establishment must be attended with extraordinary advantages. The wants of those vast countries were enormous, and would require to

be promptly supplied. A cargo from this country, however, at present, often glutted the market : it was very desirable, therefore, that warehousing ports should be established in the colonies ;—and the honourable gentleman instanced, as a striking exemplification of their value, the case of New Orleans, where the warehousing system had been introduced with extraordinary advantage to the United States. He mentioned the establishment at New Orleans, not because it was an exclusive establishment, but because it was so conveniently situated for carrying on commerce with Mexico, and with other places on the gulf of that name. Having stated generally the nature of the proposition which he wished to submit to the committee, it appeared to him that the effect of it would be somewhat different with respect to the sugar colonies, and the British provinces of North America. In the sugar colonies he conceived that it would afford a greater facility and economy in their commercial intercourse, and that they would thereby stand a chance of supplying their wants more cheaply and on more advantageous terms than they could at present. They would stand, he thought, a much better chance of getting rid of their surplus production more beneficially for themselves, and more advantageously for the general interest of the empire. But those were not the only advantages he contemplated from this change of system. The amelioration of the colonies under this altered policy would not, perhaps, proceed very rapidly ; but in the end he was sure it would produce very important benefits. In the sugar colonies a new description of inhabitants would probably spring up—a new description of commerce would be introduced—new houses of agency would be established—merchants would be found fixing themselves there, for the purpose of watching over their interests, and sending the produce of those islands all over the world. (Hear.) The system which he had explained, would possibly give birth not only to new varieties of commerce, but to a new description of industry with respect to agriculture. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was possible that those colonies might, under the liberty which would be extended to them by this change of system,

launch forth into other and most important branches of industry—that they would no longer be confined to the cultivation of sugar. Why might they not raise silk? Why might they not cultivate indigo? Why should not the cultivation of a great variety of other articles find its way into those countries? (Hear, hear.) It would be his duty to bring this subject before the house, and to recommend that some encouragement should be given to the cultivation of other articles—that other supplies, besides sugar, should be raised in those colonies. By pursuing this course, might they not hope to see infused into the population of the West India islands, more industry and a greater spirit of enterprise, than existed there at present? Was it unreasonable to suppose, that a population different from that of the overseers who now watched over the sugar estates, would ultimately be created there? (Hear, hear.) If they did this—and he thought it might be easily effected—then they would do much to secure the prosperity of those colonies, and to uphold the interests of that part of the empire, which they were bound, by all the ties of honour and duty, to protect in the most efficient manner.”

After taking a survey of all the branches of the colonial system, and calling the attention of the house to every change of which each branch is susceptible, relatively both to the commerce of England with the colonies, and to that of the colonies with each other, and with foreign countries. Mr. Huskisson concluded with moving a resolution, the effect of which was to recognize the propriety of amending the acts to which he had already referred.

The Right Hon. Gentleman then moved—“That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient to amend several acts of the 3rd and 4th of his present majesty, relative to the British possessions in North America, the West Indies, and other parts of the world; and also as far as relates to the warehousing of goods.”

declared that, if he did not propose the complete repeal of the duties connected with these prejudices, he was not influenced by the conviction of preserving any advantage, but by the desire of averting the censure of acting with precipitation. In support of his opinion, respecting the necessity of repealing or considerably reducing the duties on importation in general, the minister observed, that he was confirmed in the propriety of his system by his experience of the preceding year. He also observed, that the reduction of the duties on silk had produced so good an effect, that the French manufacturers had already evinced their fears respecting goods of English manufacture; and that a considerable contraband trade was then carried on from the coast of Sussex to the coast of France. He, therefore, proposed the following reductions:—

Indian and European cotton goods, instead of 75 per cent., to pay only 10 per cent.; worsted goods, to be reduced from 50 to 15 per cent.; linen, dimity, &c. from 180 per cent. to 25 per cent. Mr Huskisson then proposed the reduction of a duty which he considered not less fatal than disgraceful to English legislation. He alluded to the duty on books published in foreign countries, on foreign paper. He proposed that the duty on stitched books should be reduced from 22d. to 6d. each book, on foreign paper; the duty on glass bottles from 18s. per dozen to 3s. per dozen; on all kinds of glass from 80 per cent. to 20 per cent.; upon earthenware, porcelaine, and other potteries, from 75 to 12 per cent. As to gloves and other articles of foreign produce, which were entirely prohibited, Mr. Huskisson proposed their importation, under a duty of 30 per cent. He also proposed a great reduction upon iron,

copper, pewter, and other foreign metallic substances. Duties similar to those upon importation in general were, said the minister, a real advantage to smugglers, who, for 30 per cent., undertook to deliver French goods at London, at the same price for which they might be purchased at Paris. Should we not, said the minister, immediately abolish a system which creates a species of industry contrary to the laws of the country, destroys the morals of too numerous a class, and wounds the commercial interest? Such a system was and would continue to be more injurious than beneficial to the revenue, even if other nations should refuse to adopt the same measures of reciprocity.

Mr. Huskisson terminated the enumeration of the duties which he proposed to repeal with that on *quarantine* and *transfer*; and recommended that consuls, instead of an eventual sum, on arrivals, should be allowed a fixed stipend.

From these considerations of detail, relating more particularly to Europe than to other parts of the world, Mr. Huskisson entered upon the great question of the colonial trade; in the discussion of which he displayed all the force of logical reasoning, with the ardour of general benevolence, and the feelings of an Englishman. On a subject involving interests of so complicated a nature, it is impossible to throw more light, or more victoriously to combat the errors of the old system. This passage in Mr. Huskisson's speech is particularly calculated to produce an impression upon our American readers, whose interests, although incidentally, are yet powerfully defended by this minister.

"Every gentleman who heard him must be aware that the system of colonial policy which had hitherto prevailed in all European

of the said provinces, duly registered, owned by citizens of the said provinces, or of any one of them, whose captain and three-fourths of the crew are citizens of the said provinces, shall be considered as vessels of the United Provinces.

8. Every merchant, commander of a ship, and other subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall enjoy in all the territories of the United Provinces, the same liberty as the natives to manage his own affairs, to confide them to whomever he pleases as his factor, agent, or interpreter, without being obliged to employ or pay for that purpose any persons whatever, unless he thinks fit to employ them; the buyer or seller to have at all times full liberty to contract and fix at their pleasure the price of all effects, merchandise, &c. imported into, or exported from the said United Provinces.

9. In all points relative to the unloading of vessels, the security of merchandise and effects, the disposal of property of every description by sale, donation, exchange, or other mode whatever, as well as to the administration of justice, the subjects of the contracting parties shall enjoy respectively in the dominions of each other the same rights, privileges, and franchises, as those of the most favoured nations. They shall not pay higher duties in taxes than the subjects of the state in which they reside; they shall be exempt from all military service whatever, either by sea or land, from all forced loans, exactions, or military requisitions; nor shall they be obliged to pay any ordinary contributions under any pretext, greater than the natural subjects and citizens of the other party.

10. Each of the parties may appoint consuls as usual, who shall not exercise their functions till duly approved by the government to which they are sent, and either party may except to the residence of consuls in such particular places as it may please to except.

11. For the greater security of commerce between the subjects of the contracting parties, it is stipulated that in case of any unfortunate interruption of the amicable relations of commerce, or a breach between the two parties, the subjects and citizens of

each, residing in the dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, without any interruption, so long as they behave peaceably, and do not in any way offend their laws; and their effects and property, whether confided to individuals or to the state, shall not be subject to embargo or sequestration.

12. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, shall not be disturbed, persecuted, or molested on account of their religion, but they shall enjoy a perfect liberty of conscience in them, celebrating divine worship in their own houses, or in their own particular churches or chapels, which they shall be authorized to build and maintain in convenient situations, which shall be approved of by the government of the said United Provinces; it shall also be permitted to bury the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who shall die in the country of the United Provinces, in their own cemeteries, which they may in like manner form and maintain there. On the other hand, the subjects of the said United Provinces shall enjoy in all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, a perfect and unlimited freedom of conscience, and the exercise of their religion, public or private, in the houses where they reside, or in the chapels and religious houses destined for that purpose, conformably to the system of toleration established in his Majesty's dominions.

13. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces may freely dispose of their property of every description in whatever form they please, or by will, as they think fit: and if a British subject should die in the United Provinces without a will or disposition of his property, his Majesty's consul-general, or, in his absence, his representative, shall be authorized to appoint guardians, who shall take care of the property for the lawful heirs and creditors, without any interference, giving notice to the authorities of the country, and reciprocally.

14. His Britannic Majesty, anxiously desiring the abolition of the slave trade, the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata engage to co-operate with his Majesty in accomplishing so beneficial a

work ; and to prohibit all persons residing in the United Provinces, or subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any part in the said traffic.

15. The above treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in four months, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof the said plenipotentiaries have hereunto set their hands and seals.

Done at Buenos Ayres, the 2d of February, in the year of our Lord 1825.

(L. S.)

M. J. GARCIA.

(L. S.)

WOODBINE PARISH."

"We, Juan Gregorio de las Heras, captain-general and governor of the province of Buenos Ayres, charged with the supreme executive power of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, now assembled in congress, having, in conformity with the fundamental law of the 23d of January, 1825, communicated the said treaty to the constituent congress for its assent, and having obtained its full powers and approbation to ratify and confirm the said treaty, by this present act we ratify and confirm it in due form ; promising and engaging, in the name of the said United Provinces, that all the stipulations and obligations in the same shall be sacredly and inviolably fulfilled.

In testimony whereof, we sign with our hand the present instrument of ratification, and have caused it to be attested by our minister of war and marine, solemnly sealing it with the national seal at Buenos Ayres, the 19th of February, in the year of our Lord 1825,

JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS HERAS.

FRANCISCO DE LA CRUZ."

SOUTH AMERICAN MINING.

The working of the South American mines by great European companies, is one of those events which should awaken the attention of all interests, occupy the minds of all persons, and keep them in a state of suspense between the fear of loss and the hope of gain. Such men, however, as may lose or gain much, are not exclusively those whose attention has been attracted, and whose dissatisfaction has been excited by the American mines: a great number of persons, who may acquire millions, but who cannot lose a shilling, have also been powerfully stimulated by the contemplation of these brilliant enterprises, which might eventually become the means of filling up the immense vacuum in their purses. Hence, the number of good and bad companies formed in the course of a year, and besieged by a multitude of candidates of every description anxious for admission, and to a great number of whom their doors have been opened; whilst those of every company accessible only to a certain degree of respectability have been, with relentless cruelty, closed against them. Hence, also, the indefatigable cupidity, the clamorous rivalries, and the shameless spirit of stock-jobbing which, whilst it disgusts every body, has, at length, brought that disreputation upon the undertaking itself, which, in reality, belongs only to the men to whom we allude. On one hand, some persons, seriously terrified at the facility with which English

capital is devoted to these speculations,—on the other, a multitude of intriguers, to whom these companies are inaccessible, and who endeavour to find a compensation, for their disappointment, in the pleasure with which they asperse them,—have filled every mind with alarm, and created against the whole system of the mines an unfavourable prejudice completely destitute of foundation, in the most essential point, in reference to the intrinsic value of the operation. In respect to ourselves, who have entered into an engagement with our conscience and with our readers, carefully to avoid every party spirit, every species of doctrine at variance with the general interest, we shall, in this instance, follow no other guide than that of the nature of things, and the logic of hope, which every one understands. There is no doubt that every kind of deception has been practised to mislead the public opinion respecting the real merit of these enterprises for working the different South American mines. We also have expressed ourselves in terms of reprobation against stratagems, the only tendency of which is to destroy confidence, and give the death-blow to these infant associations. But is this a reason for indiscriminately blending in one common censure the nature of these operations, and the merit of the individuals engaged in them? Was it even a reason for admitting no distinction between the different associations formed for that purpose, the claim of which to public confidence is indisputable, and those which neither had, nor could have had, any other intention than to deceive it, and enrich themselves at the expense of that confidence? We think not; and when we dispassionately endeavour to discover the cause of the discredit

which is attached to these enterprises, and which has obviously depreciated their value in the public estimation, we find no solution of the difficulty but in the apathy which usually follows the excess of enthusiasm, and which, like that state of mind, is almost invariably destitute of any rational motive.

To elucidate the present question, and state it in its proper terms, it is essential to consider it under two points of view, perfectly distinct and separate. The first is the utility and solidity inherent in the thing itself, and independent of the merit of the associations; the second is the relative goodness of these associations, and the examination of the guarantees which they offer to persons interested in them.

In reference to the first point, the question is very simple, and we shall have no difficulty in dispelling the panic fear which seems to have taken possession of the share-holders. It will be sufficient, for that purpose, to advert to the objections urged against the system in general, and to oppose to them facts of so simple and evident a nature, as to impress with conviction every unprejudiced mind. As to the relative merit of the companies, the question is too complicated, and requires a particular investigation, to which we will devote several specific articles. In these, we purpose unreservedly to communicate to the public all the information we may be able to obtain, respecting the advantages or disadvantages connected with these companies, and the fears or hopes which they are calculated to excite. At present, we confine ourselves to the examination of generalities.

The mines of South America, if worked with wisdom, talent, and reasonable economy, cannot fail,

in the actual state of things, to become for England an immense source of property, both in respect to the government and individuals. This truth is incontrovertible: it has, however, been controverted; and every imaginable argument, both as to law and fact, has been exhausted against those undertakings for mining in America. The following are among those which are most important.

The first law character in England * has asserted in parliament, that the legislature ought to refuse its sanction to associations of this nature, because they are real monopolies contrary to the spirit of the British constitution; and because "the time seemed fast approaching when we should not be permitted to eat or to drink, or to have clean linen, except upon the terms some of those companies might think proper to impose." We shall not exactly say, like one of our cotemporaries, "had these words proceeded from the lips of some Master Robert Shallow, sitting in petty sessions at a country town, we should have had our laugh, and there's an end of it;" but we will observe, that this objection is manifestly erroneous, and would not require to be refuted, if it had been urged by any other person than the Chancellor of England. His lordship had forgotten, in this circumstance, the true nature of monopoly. The monopoly, against which our ancestors struggled, is the exclusive privilege of selling goods or commodities, the sale of which ought to be free, or it is an iniquitous combination between indi-

* Lord Chancellor, in the case of Real del Monte mines.

viduals, to raise the price of articles of consumption, and a burthensome and shameful imposition upon the public. But there is absolutely nothing whatever similar to this in these companies. They exist not in virtue of a patent from the crown, conferring upon them the sale of the precious metals, to the exclusion of all other competitors; they rest, on the contrary, upon the principle of a competition perfectly free; and their success depends upon the proportion, by which the degree of advantage which each of these companies offers to the consumer, is higher than that of its rivals; and they can have no foundation on which to place their hopes, but the opinion and confidence with which they inspire the public. The companies for working the mines are evidently nothing else than great partnerships, and no more resemble the monopoly to which we have just alluded, than assurance companies or banking houses. They only offer a greater number of partners; a circumstance indispensable in operations requiring immense capitals. "Very few branches of business," observes the *Globe and Traveller*, "can be managed by large companies. Some, and especially those in which there is a necessity for large capital, applicable to remote contingencies, can only be managed by associations in some form or other, as, for instance, insurances for long terms. But what can be best done by large partnerships, and what by small ones, is best settled by experience, by the choice and enterprise of individuals. All that the law need do, is to afford all reasonable security to the public as against the partners, and to the partners as against one another. All other interference is mischievous, and, under the appearance of promoting the freedom of trade, to

impede it." This reasoning is conclusive; and we hope that there are few persons in England, so little in the habit of reflexion, or to such a degree strangers to the rules of commercial economy, as to take alarm at the jargon uttered about companies swallowing up whole trades. The question, as it relates to facts, viz. the examination of the principal advantages or disadvantages which must result to England from the working of American mines, has been the object of many attacks which betray, on the part of the adversaries of these undertakings, great ignorance, and extraordinary departure from good faith: we are even sorry to be compelled to say, that bad faith is manifest in the artful manner with which some of them have perverted the spirit of the authorities which they have adduced, in support of their assertions, and the unfairness with which they have quoted isolated phrases from some authors, the substance of whose opinion is, on the contrary, diametrically opposed to these assertions. It has been observed;—

That it has long been a saying in America, that, if a man discovers a silver mine, he is in great danger of losing his property; but if he finds a gold mine, he is sure to be ruined;—

That some of the mines now undertaken are filled with water, and have not been worked for several years;—

That the working of several of them is utterly impracticable, from their being at 13,500 above the level of the sea—;

“That it is a notorious fact, that, under the old

* Mr. Hobhouse, in the case of the Peruvian Mines Companies.

system of working the American mines, no capital could be laid out more imprudently.

That the communications are difficult; that the expenses must increase in an alarming proportion, and that the bad success of one operation may absorb all the profits of the most successful.

That a revenue, which is large and dazzling when enjoyed by a single proprietor, has another appearance when divided and subdivided among a number of persons;—

That the vicissitudes peculiarly incident to mining pursuits, render the calculations of their produce more uncertain than the returns of any object of industry.*

Finally, That it would be unsafe to rely on the continued tranquillity of the new independent states†, &c. &c.

Such are nearly the only arguments which the most able opposers of the undertakings to which we refer have urged against them. They betray a weakness which is evident to whoever has the least knowledge of the present state of the world, and particularly of the interests of England: but few persons could refute, in a more lucid and victorious manner, the objections which we have just stated, than the author of an excellent pamphlet, now before us,‡ of which the following are extracts.

“It is very generally known, that a large proportion of the bullion brought into circulation, throughout the Old World, has been raised in the late Spanish America, but more particularly in

* On the gold and silver mines of America—Traveller.

† Idem.

‡ Sir William Rawson,

Mexico. Appended to a pamphlet, recently published by the writer, on the actual state of the Mexican mines, is the copy of an official report, stating the quantities of bullion annually coined in the royal mint of Mexico, for *one hundred and thirty-three years*, terminating in July 1823. By this return it is seen, that the amount of the precious metals annually raised in that country, progressively increased up to the year 1809, the year previous to the commencement of the Mexican revolution; and that the quantity upon which duties were paid in that year, was, with only two exceptions, namely, 1804, and 1805, greater than in any preceding year. Subsequently the defalcation in the produce of the Mexican mines, has been very great; in 1809, the gold and silver coined, amounted to 26,192,982 dollars, whilst in 1812, it fell to 4,409,266 dollars, and did not amount to six millions of dollars either in 1821, or 1822. In the pamphlet we have just alluded to, is also given the copy of a most able and affecting report to the Viceroy of Mexico, by the Assay Master General, of the chief mining district in Mexico (Guanaxuato), dated 1819, wherein he details at length, the immediate and remote causes of this decline in mining industry, and falling off of the produce of the mines, as being consequent on the revolution, when the mines, alternately visited by the contending parties, were plundered by each, the cattle driven away, and the machinery destroyed, until they became almost entirely abandoned. Such being the official facts respecting Mexico, it may be presumed that the working of the mines decreased from the same causes equally, if not in a greater degree, in Peru, and the other sections of the late Spanish colonies; for revolution and internal war commenced almost at the same moment in all. The result has been, a comparative annihilation of mining industry, followed by the filling of the mines with water, and the ruin of the mine-owners, who in times of prosperity living up to their means, without contemplating or making a provision for any future reverse of fortune, found themselves reduced, in the majority of instances, to the lowest state of poverty and distress; whilst the continued drains of bullion by the old Spaniards,

during the revolutionary contest, and at its termination, at length nearly exhausted the general currency of those kingdoms.

"Hence then, at the successful termination of their political struggles, the Mexican mine-owners, in a state of insolvency, possessing neither machinery to empty their mines of water, nor money to procure it, have been compelled to apply to foreigners for the necessary aid, to recommence their mining operations; which aid has been offered them, upon the equitable conditions, and according to the custom formerly pursued, of being allotted certain proportions of the produce of the mines, either for a term of years, or in perpetuity. And hence, the origin of a large proportion of the present Joint Stock Companies, which have been exposed indiscriminately to all manner of attack and obloquy.

"Having thus proved, by reference to the evidence of Mexican Official Documents, that the mines continued to increase in produce *up to the very commencement of the revolution*, I now proceed to state, by way of example, the amount of produce of one of them, notwithstanding the very expensive and unscientific manner in which, in common with all the mines in the New World, it was formerly worked—what is the increased product which may be expected when the mines are worked upon the improved system,—and lastly, what has been already effected and is now in progress, by the miners sent out from this country, even before the mines are emptied of water, or the machinery intended to be employed has reached its destination.

"The Valenciana mine, situated upon the "Veta Madre" of Guanajuato, and contracted for by the Anglo-Mexican Association, is selected for example, because that Baron Humboldt, in his work on New Spain, has given a minute description of its manner of being worked,—that we have obtained official details of its produce up to the period, when becoming nearly filled with water, it ceased working,—as also of its present state.

"The Valenciana mine, the Baron Humboldt asserts, is the

richest of any in Mexico—that it produced as much silver in the year 1791, as the whole kingdom of Peru in that year; that it yields seven times more metal than the mines of Frieberg, and one half as much as the whole kingdom of Saxony—that the amount of the sales of the raw ores at the pits' mouth, where, (as in Cornwall,) they were sold weekly by auction, averaged, during thirty-three years, from 1771 to 1804, the enormous sum of £.393,381 per annum—"that it never yielded less net profit, during forty years, than from £.82,506 to £.123,750 per annum," notwithstanding the excessive expenses incurred, and the wasteful and unscientific manner in which every operation connected with the mining department was conducted. Some years the net profits amounted to £.250,000.

"By official documents brought to this country, it is shown, that up to the revolution in 1810, this mine continued to produce ores to the amount of a million and a half dollars per annum. The pillars alone, if the ores contained in them were removed and sold by auction as formerly (at little more than half their value), are estimated to be worth eight millions sterling.

"That the mines will be rendered much more productive than formerly, from the introduction of the improved systems of mining and reducing the ores, may most confidently be assumed, from the testimony of Baron Humboldt,—of Captain Garby, the chief mining captain of the Anglo-Mexican Association,—and from the official reports sent home by the English commissioners of the different companies now in Mexico.

"The baron, in his *New Spain*, published twenty years since, asserts, from his own observations, and upon the authority of a report from the deputies of a body of miners, sent to the King of Spain in 1774, that whenever the mines were scientifically worked, they would become "*three times more productive than formerly*;" and during the last year, he has expressed his opinion to an English gentleman in Paris, with reference to the prospects of the Anglo-Mexican Mine Association, and its having secured so

many valuable mines in Mexico, "*that it could not fail to prove the most lucrative and important undertaking that had ever yet been entered into.*"

After entering into many particulars, which prove that all the American mines have been worked till now on the most irregular, confused and expensive system; that mechanics, in every branch, are far more behind than it could possibly be conceived, without witnessing it; that the process, which formerly required from two to five months to complete it, has been effected in the space of twenty; and therefore, that the American system of mining is open to the greatest improvement, and that there is no impediment to carry those improvements into execution; the author continues as follows:

"Respecting what has been already effected, or is now in progress at the mines, we have had reports from the three principal Mexican companies, and the most satisfactory testimony corroborative of the substance of these reports, through a variety of private channels. By the report presented by the directors of the Anglo-Mexican Association, on the 26th day of February, 1825, at a general meeting of the share-holders, it appears, that their commissioners and mining agents reached the mines in August 1824, and in November following transmitted information, that the following mines were either being worked, or in a state of preparation for working:—in the district of Guanajuato—Valenciana, Sirena, Santa Rosa and Guadalupe. On the Catorce vein—Conception and Guadalupe.

"Of the working of the Valenciana and Conception mines the report gives a detailed account. In the former they were working to the depth of eighty yards, the surfaces of the water being one hundred and thirty-six yards from the mouth of the shaft; and they were producing weekly 2000 cargas of ore, each carga

weighing 300 lbs. The most valuable part of the mine, however, is between one hundred and fifty, and five hundred yards deep.

“ From the mouth of the principal shaft are three levels, only one of which, the vein of Rosario, has been worked to any extent; this vein was discovered immediately preceding the breaking out of the revolution; and during the exceedingly short time it was worked, it produced eight or nine ounces to the monton; a third of this produce will pay all the expense of extraction. In 1815, Valenciana was in five months drained to the depth of five hundred yards, its greatest depth being seven hundred yards; but from the troubled state of the district, the mines were soon neglected.

“ As to the mine of Concepcion, in the province of Catorce, from some accident which had occurred to the pumps, the draining, though begun, was not completed when the commissioners transmitted their report; but a cross vein had been discovered, which produced in the first week three hundred dollars; in the second, five thousand two hundred dollars; and in the third week (that in which the communication of the commissioners was dispatched,) the produce was seven thousand dollars. The commissioners add, “ It is expected that in a very few weeks the expense of outlay on this rich and valuable mine would be made good.”

“ In regard to the cross vein, the writer has since been obligingly favoured by Colonel Murphy, now in London, one of the original proprietors of the mine, with the substance of a letter from his agent, Colonel Martinez, dated Real Catorce, Dec. 24, 1824, who writes to the following effect:—“ At the suggestion of some of the common mining labourers, who had worked in the mine prior to its being inundated in 1811, he was induced to offer them a dollar a day, each man, and the necessary mining implements, to go down the mine, and to work it according to their own wishes. After a few days' excavation, near the old saloon, (a place where they had been a large deposit of ores, which afforded space for one thousand men to work at the same time, and

from whence was extracted silver of many millions of dollars value, by the Obregon family) they raised ores between the latter end of October and the middle of December, of the value of 1,660*l.* sterling weekly, net profit. The extent of the vein is supposed to be one hundred square yards, of which only ten yards had been worked, up to the last accounts. This is an accidental discovery, and was never calculated upon by the proprietors of the mine; their original expectations resting on the rich and valuable ores existing in the former workings, which continued highly productive up to the period of the revolution.

"On the 1st of March, 1825, a meeting of the proprietors of the United Mexican Company was called, when they were informed, that the mine of Rayas, second only to the Valenciana, (its ores, though not so plentiful, being much richer,) the Cata, la Bomba, da Capula, Santa Anna, San Juan, and San Miguel, were engaged for the company.

"We learn that the Cata mine has been producing ores since last June; and it was expected that the month of December would be chiefly spent in preparing the silver for coinage; and that by subsequent official reports from Mexico, the ores raised from this and two other mines in full work, were in such abundance, and of so rich a quality that a high official character in the Mexican government, who transmitted the reports, and who conducts the affairs of the company in Mexico, gave it as his opinion, that "a handsome dividend might be expected by the share-holders within the present year.

"The report of the Real del Monte Mine Company, bearing date February 28, 1825, is also highly satisfactory. It states, that the miners were in full activity in preparing the mines for the reception of steam-engines, and that contracts had been entered into by the company for working the Moran and other valuable mines, on the rich and productive veins of Discama and Moran, on which they were situated. The report adds, they find a plentiful supply of fuel and water for steam-engines.

"These facts are adduced as the most conclusive answer to the

various *opinions*, which have been promulgated, indiscriminately hostile to the mining enterprises in the New World;—which opinions were advanced, it is seen, in the entire absence of correct information, and, it is presumed, were formed upon the uncertain results, often attending mining operations in this country. But those persons who have directed their attention to mining in the New World, and have had means of obtaining correct information on the subject, comprehend, even without the evidence of positive results, that mining operations in those regions and in this country, are so totally dissimilar in all their features, that no correct estimate of the one, can be formed by a comparison with the other. Throughout Europe generally, mining operations have proved hazardous and uncertain; owing, as is conceived, to the high price of labour and of machinery,—to the comparatively limited extent of the metalliferous veins,—and to the consequent uncertainty of their produce. In America, on the contrary, human and animal labour is to be obtained on very reasonable terms; and the best mines, being in most instances situated on high ground, the most simple machinery has been found sufficient to free them from water, and to lift up the ores. With regard to the size and extent of the veins of ores in the New and Old World they bear no comparison. In America the operations of nature are almost universally on her grandest scale; rivers, mountains, and vegetable productions, are of a magnitude not to be met with in the Old World. The metalliferous productions are proportionably extended.

“ A very remarkable instance of this extent of vein may be adduced, in a spot of virgin earth of eight hundred square yards in extent, recently obtained by a former denunciation, by my friend Major General Wavell, an English gentleman belonging to the Mexican service, which is situated on the same vein as the Real del Monte Mine, and where the Biscainaa, and three other rich veins coalesce, forming a junction, which measures at the surface sixty-four yards and a half wide.

“ Instead, therefore, of the uncertainty of finding ores in abun-

dance, as in Europe, and the consequent uncertainty, and great expense of searching for them in America, provided good mines are selected, almost *any quantity of ores may be procured* by employing the necessary number of men and animals. Instance the Valencia Mine, in which, according to Humboldt, with twelve hundred miners, they bored and blasted every twenty-four hours, nearly *six hundred holes*, each hole being four feet eleven inches deep; and there can be no doubt, but that the blasting of each hole, separated at least half a ton of ore. Now in Cornwall, a miner will separate by blasting from a third to half a ton daily of such ground as that composing the mountains of Guanaxuato, which, at the value of the poorest ores in Mexico, will be worth from 6*l.* to 9*l.* sterling, while his wages and the materials employed, will not amount to 10*s.*

“The metalliferous veins being thus shown to be most extensive and abundant in the New World, (and it should be recollected that they are of gold and silver, instead of tin, lead, and copper, as is almost universally the case in Europe, with the exception of Saxony,) the remaining enquiry shall be directed to a consideration of the expenses of raising and reducing the ores, as also to the value of the silver, after extraction. Upon these points, I cannot do better than to quote from my pamphlet, the estimate furnished me by Mr. Moyle of Truro, one of the most scientific and experienced miners and engineers in Cornwall, after having ascertained by a long series of experiments upon Mexican ores, with which he had been furnished, that the same processes commonly pursued in the dressing and smelting of the Cornish tin ores, were those best adapted to Mexican silver ores.

Dr.	£. s. d.	Cr.	£. s. d.
To breaking and raising 10 tons of ore, at 14. 18s. per ton....	25 0 0	By 800 oz. of silver, the quantity produced from 10 tons of raw ore, at the average produce of 4 oz. per cwt. rated at 4s. 6d. per oz. and said to be the average of the poor ores of the Valencian mine.....	180 0 0
To spalding (i. e. reducing the large rocks of ore into small pieces, fit for the stamping mills) at 1s. per ton.....	0 10 0		
To stamping 10 tons of ores, fit for smelting, at 1s. 6d. per ton.	0 15 0		
To dressing 10 tons of ore, including the calcination and carriage of the ore from one place to another, say average 3 miles, at 6s. 5d. per ton.....	8 5 0		
To smelting 5 tons of dressed ores, the produce of 10 tons of raw ores, at 41. 2s. per ton.....	20 10 0		
The duty on 800 oz. of silver, being the produce of 10 tons of raw ores, of the average produce of 4 oz. per cwt. rated at 4s. 6d. per oz. amounting to 180l. at 6½ per cent.	11 14 0		
	<hr/> 2 31 14 0		
To balance as profit on 10 tons of raw ore.....	128 6 0		
	<hr/> 2 180 0 0		<hr/> 2 180 0 0

"The above profit of 128l. 6s. upon ten tons of raw ore, amounts to about 12l. 16s per ton."

"It appears by the above estimate, (and Mr. Moyle has given the *highest English prices* of labour, as opposed to the *poorest Mexican ores*,) that the net profits to be expected upon the mining and smelting operations, will amount to 800l. per cent. upon the

capital employed; out of which profits the agents' salaries only, and the expense of gunpowder, iron, steel, &c., employed in the mines, are to be deducted, the advances made by the companies to the mine owners covering all the expenses of the machinery, and its transport to the mines.

"Therefore it is contended, if common judgment and discretion be exercised in the original selection of the mines, (and it is shown that several of the best mines in Mexico *have* been secured by the English companies,) and if common judgment and discretion be also observed by the directors of the different associations, in the selection of fit and proper agents to direct and superintend the working of their mines,---that, under these circumstances, mining operations in America not only cease to be hazardous, but assume a character for certainty, perhaps not equalled in any part of Europe, in agricultural pursuits; where the crops are necessarily subject to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and other natural contingencies, over which no human skill or foresight can have control."

Considering, in another chapter, the question of the working of mines, in a more general and elevated point of view, the author says:

"Another view of the operation of these stock companies will be found deserving attention. From the great surplus capital of the country, and the low rate of interest to be obtained in the public funds, much capital is annually exported to foreign countries. We have the choice to invest this surplus capital in continental loans, or to transmit it to the New World, either in loans, or through mining and other joint stock companies.

"In the first case, we lend our capital to countries, that have been for ages our political enemies, and our commercial rivals; thus, with *English money* enabling them to lessen the amount of their national obligations, and to carry into effect their public works and undertakings, by which means they may the more

successfully compete with our manufactures in time of peace, and be better prepared to contend with us in the event of war. In the latter case, we assist young and grateful countries, to emerge from the state of ignorance and slavery, in which they have been hitherto kept, by the barbarous and cruel policy of their tyrant masters—countries, between which and Great Britain, there is, and ever must be, a natural alliance, since it is equally for the interests of both. By supplying them with capital to re-establish their mining and general industry, we also thereby contribute to the prosperity of *nations of friends*, who, in turn, will benefit our commercial interests, exactly in proportion as they themselves become flourishing and prosperous.

“The disadvantageous manner in which the continental loans are sent out of the country, also deserves notice. I believe the amount of these loans has invariably been transmitted in bullion, which, by causing the bank to narrow its issues, and by turning the exchange against Great Britain, not only (as at the present moment) lowers the English funds, but very materially tends to lessen the general commercial transactions of the country.

“It is very different with the South American loans, the largest part of which has been expended in this country in ships, clothing, military equipments, stores, &c. thereby contributing, in no inconsiderable degree, to the increase of English industry and prosperity, instead of the curtailment of both. This has been more particularly the case with the mining associations, whose chief outlay of capital consists in English machinery. A remarkable instance of this has recently occurred; the Real del Monte Company having sent off, at one time, 1,200 tons of machinery.

“If we view the question as it concerns the *individual interests of the capitalist*, the argument applies still more strongly in favour of the New World; not only as it regards the security for the capital advanced, but the remuneration for such advance. Capitalists investing their money in the loans of the continental governments, lend it to countries whose amount of debt, compared with their national revenues and resources, is infinitely greater than in

the New States, where the debts incurred are trifling in the extreme, as compared with their natural resources. They also subject their capital to confiscation, at the commencement of every European war—to continental national bankruptcies—and to kingly fraud and swindling. And should they fortunately escape these greater evils, still, upon the *mere rumour of war*, the continental funds are sure to experience the most ruinous depression; while, in the event of its *actually taking place*, English capital becomes immediately locked up, and the capitalists can neither get principal nor interest, during the continuance of the war, however protracted such war may be.

“But no such apprehensions are to be entertained in regard to capital sent to the New World. The idea of war occurring between Great Britain and the New States of America for centuries to come, is perfectly absurd; while from their possessing *Representative*, instead of *Absolute* governments, even supposing it possible there should be such war, we should have no reason to fear those ruinous consequences certain to result from continental hostilities; and it is expressly stipulated, and indeed incorporated in the formula of the Mexican bonds, (as, I believe in the obligations of the new states) that the interest upon their bonds, shall be paid with equal regularity during war, as during peace.

“Now, with regard to the *security for English capital* embarked in *mining* and other *commercial* enterprises to the New World; they will necessarily receive the protection of this government, equally with English capital in every other part of the globe, where British ministers and consuls are sent. The new governments are also fully aware of the importance of preserving good faith towards foreigners, not merely as regards national character, now that they are admitted into the family of nations, but also from the avowed conviction of their own inability, without the aid of foreign capital, to re-establish national or individual prosperity.”

The writer analyzes, in conclusion, the comparative

amount of interest to British capitalists, who have invested their capital in continental and South American loans, and he observes shortly on the returns to be expected by those who have embarked their capital in mining enterprises in the New World.

“ In consequence of the facilities afforded to the continental governments, of obtaining loans in this country, from the excess of surplus capital floating in the money market; they are now making a combined effort to reduce the general rate of interest on the continent, from *five to three* per cent. Some of these governments having already succeeded, there can be no doubt from their success, that all the others will use the most strenuous exertions to effect a similar arrangement.

“ The loans of the new states, on the contrary, afford an interest of from *six to eight* per cent., the usual interest of money in the late Spanish colonies having never been less than *ten* per cent. and frequently much higher. Therefore, in addition to greater security, in respect of comparative debt and resources—exemption from confiscation—national bankruptcies—kingly robberies—ruinous depressions—and the liability of being deprived of the use both of capital and interest, during the continuance of war, however protracted—we see that the positive amount of interest from the South American securities is *more than double* that which is offered to the English capitalist in continental loans; while, there can be no doubt, in the event of the prospect of war in Europe, that by the abstraction of the large amount of British surplus capital from the continental loans, there would be extensive investments in the South American loans, by which the very circumstances that would materially depress the former, could not fail considerably to enhance the value of the latter securities.

“ With regard to the *amount of returns* which may be expected from the capital advanced to the mine owners in the New World, I should fear publicly to express my opinion. But that they will be very great, when the improved systems of mining and reducing

the ores are fairly established, may be most confidently affirmed; not only from Mr. Moyle's estimate and calculations already quoted, but from the fact, of the enormous profits formerly obtained by the mine owners, notwithstanding the vicious and expensive manner in which every operation in both departments was conducted. In addition---the general principle observed, in forming contracts to supply capital to work the mines, is the engagement, on the part of the mine owners, to repay the sums advanced by the capitalist, out of the first profits of the mine, and to allot to him a certain share of the mine for a term of years, or in perpetuity. It therefore follows, that where common sense and common prudence have been observed in the selection of mines, the most lucrative returns are ensured to the capitalist."

NEW MINING ASSOCIATION FOR BRAZIL.

We have before us two decrees of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, authorizing the formation of two new companies for the working of the mines of silver and gold, and other metals. One of these decrees is in favor of M. Carneiro Leão, &c., the other, dated March 30th, 1825, in favour of Messrs. R. M. Raikes, Nicholas Garry, George Rougemont, Manoel Antonio de Freitas, Antonio da Costa, and Isaac Dias de Carvalho, London merchants. This company is authorized to dig and search for gold, silver, and other metals in the province of Spirito Santo, and in the mines of Castello.

We have not, now, room to enter into all the details necessary to point out the advantages which may be derived from these new associations: but in anticipation of our next Number, in which we purpose completely to investigate the subject, we cannot help ac-

knowledging, that our conviction, founded on the terms of the decree, the conditions of the contract, local knowledge, as well as on the opinion of all our Brazilian correspondents, is, that the company authorized to work the mines of the rich province of Spirito Santo and the *Serra do Castello*, is unquestionably, of all the South American associations, one of those best calculated to justify our most sanguine expectations. We will state our reasons in our next publication, till then, we shall present our readers with the following extract of the Prospectus of one of these companies, which we have before us, and which, we think, will be highly interesting to capitalists.

IMPERIAL SERRA DO CASTELLO

INDEPENDENT BRAZIL MINING ASSOCIATION.

Founded on an Imperial Decree, dated March 30th, 1825.

CAPITAL ONE MILLION.

President, &c. &c. &c.

The object of this association is to employ capital in working mines of gold, silver and other metals, in the province of Espirito Santo, and especially in the rich and almost virgin mountains of Castello, &c.

The prospects of the company and its claims to the confidence of the public, are founded ;—

1st. On the mineral riches of the district in which it is authorized to work.

- 2d. On the advantages the geographical position affords, and,
- 3d. On the favourable terms of the Imperial decree by which the establishment is created.

The mineral riches of the province of Espirito Santo, and particularly of the Serra del Castello, are well known. It produces gold, silver, amethysts and other valuable stones, and is situated in a salubrious climate. The abundance of gold and the facility of obtaining it on the surface are so great, that of late years, numbers of smugglers and unauthorized adventurers have flocked there, and in a few days been able to collect a sufficiency for the subsistence of months. These frauds on the revenue chiefly determined the Imperial government to grant the Castello mines to a company capable of working them as the Mining Regulations direct. Henderson, in his work on Brazil (1821) asserts, that the district through which the Rio Doce flows, is essentially auriferous, and he draws this inference from the pieces of gold, found in possession of the Indians, which, he adds, they readily exchange for articles of common hardware. The whole of this range of country is almost in a virgin state. Scarcely has it been trodden by the miner or the man of science.

The advantages by which the geographical position of the province of Espirito Santo is distinguished, are still more remarkable.

On the north it is bounded by Porto Seguro; on the west by Minas Geraes; on the south by the province of Rio de Janeiro; and on the east by the Atlantic. It is almost in immediate contact, by sea and land, with Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, and situated on the line of communication with the most important diamond districts. It is not more than forty-five miles distant from the sea. Several rivers, navigable, or susceptible of being rendered so, afford an easy outlet to the sea. The Rio Doce, which runs at a short distance from the foot of the Castello mountain, is the natural line of communication with Minas Geraes, and ere long will no doubt be for that purpose opened; as the intervening difficulties can easily be overcome.

The terms of the Imperial grant, of which the original and corresponding translations may be seen at the company's office, are the most encouraging.

It formally and explicitly sets forth that, "in consideration of the advantages to be derived from the introduction of capital, artisans, miners, labourers and machinery, necessary for the regular working of mines, according to the superior practice and principles adopted in Europe, and anxious also to promote this branch of national industry, at present so much neglected, his Majesty has thought proper to grant to the aforesaid company permission to dig and search for gold, silver, and other metals, with which nature has enriched his empire, in the province of Espirito Santo, pledging, that all the parties therein concerned, shall enjoy the full protection of the laws, have their contracts, rights and property secured, and never be molested or withdrawn from the service of the company," &c. &c.

Perhaps a more brilliant prospect was never before opened to the enterprise of man; or one more deserving of encouragement, on the part of the public. The scope also is nearly unbounded. Should the company, when all the requisite information has been obtained, wish to extend its views to colonizing and agricultural pursuits, or to the improvement of inland navigation, the same beneficent policy that induced the Emperor of Brazil to make the present grant, will serve as a guarantee to the extension of such additional favours as may be required, in compensation for the benefits the country must derive from undertakings of this kind. The fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, mineral riches, facilities of navigation and contiguity to the coast, render the province of Espirito Santo one of the most valuable and interesting spots on the whole of the great western continent. It also enjoys the advantages of a hardy and tractable race of natives, and abounds in other varied and useful resources. By judicious management, therefore, the present scheme may be carried to an immense extent, and yield incalculable advantages. In order to improve every

favourable circumstance that may present itself, it is the intention of the company to secure the services of persons of the most select class; men capable of seconding the efforts of the Directors by their science and activity, and ready to prove to the imperial government, from whom so valuable a grant is derived, that the anxious wishes of the Englishmen uniting in so majestic an enterprise, will ever be directed to the welfare, prosperity and independence of the country that is to become the theatre of their future labours.

Conditions, &c. &c. &c.

POETRY.

INNO A BOLIVAR. A HYMN TO BOLIVAR, BY PHILIP PISTRUCCI.

The American cause not only finds defenders who heroically sacrifice to it their fortunes and their lives ; it has also awakened the enthusiasm of poets, who are now invoking their muse to tune her lyre, and celebrate, in the political regeneration of America, one of the most memorable triumphs in the annals of civilization.

The Roman poet *Pistrucci*, whose imagination kindles at whatever is generous and national, is the first to offer a tribute of harmony to the glory of the hero of Colombia. His hymn glows with the ardour of feeling and patriotism. Its sentiments are noble ; and its imagery, combining energy, gracefulness, and tenderness, renews the impression of the departed genius of the lyric poets of his country. But what will our readers think of the powers displayed in this beautiful composition, when we inform them, that it was the effusion of the inspiration of the moment, a rapid *improvo*, taken down in short hand, and preserved in its original unaltered state, to be consigned to the ordeal of the press?

We admit that, in this Hymn to Bolívar, there are strophes accessible to the severity of criticism ; but they all bear the stamp of that *mens divini* which is the characteristic of the genuine poet.

INNO A BOLIVAR.

Chi e' colei che d'alloro mi porge
La più bella onorata corona ?
Alla mossa mi sembra Bellona,
La Vittoria agli sguardi mi par ?

Ma nessuna di queste mai sciolse
Trionfante una bianca bandiera,
Ne' fu vista una Diva sì altera
Dalle stelle qua giù comparir.

Ella parla : silenzio ; si ascolti :
Son l'America, dice, che il serto
Porto a lui che avanzando ogni merto
Di me stessa mi rese maggior.

Sfavillante il suo nome si legge
Sovra questo mio bianco vessillo,
Mentre tace dé bronzi lo squillo
Della gloria odi l'inno ecceggiar.

O tra quanti mortali la terra
Per imprese sublimi più vanta,
O tra quelli che fama decanta
Bolivar il mortale maggior.

Per te ogn'i onta ogni strage ebbe fine,
Per te il sol fra le nubi è comparso
Per te in un sì raduna lo sparso
Popol tanto depresso finor.

Tu sei quel che nel sen della morte
Germogliare la vita facesti,
Tu sei quel che a natura rendesti
La sembianza concessa dal ciel.

Alle spose i mariti si abbracciano
Ed i padri si abbracciano ai figli,
Ah dovunque brillando sui cigli
L'allegrezza dell'alma traspar.

Son caduti i superbi stranieri
Che tanti anni ci resero schiavi,
Vendicate son l'ombre degli avi
Tolti i ceppi ad ognuno dal piè.

Nasceranno le rose là dove
I tuoi forti il lor sangue versaro,
E fia sacro alla patria l'acciaro,
Che dell'oste nel sen si spuntó.

Verginelle correte, correte,
Le ferite dei prodi bacciate;
Palpitar quelle salme gelate
Sentirete fors, anco d'onor.

Bolivar in fra l'armi seguendo
Essi fur che serbaronci in vita;
Sol per loro per sempre è finita
L'amarezza del lungo dolor.

Nuove leggi, nuove arti vedransi,
Nuovi onor, nuove glorie per tutto,
Ne a rapirci veranno più il frutto
Premio atteo dal nostro sudor.

E quell'or, quell'argento che chiude
Qui nel grembo feconda la terra,
Non ingiusta cagione di guerra,
D'i opulenza sorgente sarà.

Perché libera e' nata dal core
Splenderà religione più bella
Che allor quando costringe e flagella,
Deve invece chiamarsi empietà.

Lungi i roghi, gli eculei, le scuri,
La concordia unirassi all'amore,
Solo i voti che vengon dal core
Posson esser graditi dal ciel.

Deh' che i quattro che abbiamo ricinti
Delle istesse lor ferree catene,
Più non restin quest' aure serene
Cò lor fetidi fiati a infettar.

Portin essi la nuova al lor Sire
Del valor del lor braccio venduto,
Gli raccontin quant, hanno veduto,
Onde cessi alla fin di sognar.

Ma la Diva qui tace ; rimbomba
Sì d'intorno il festevol concento
Che confusa sull' arpa d'argento
Tra gli evviva si arresta la man.

Musa mia, tu pur dunque ti arresta,
Non trascorrere il termin segnato :
Spingi il guardo nell'ombre del fato,
Ne ti piaccia di aggiunger di più.

SHARE LIST AND AMERICAN FUNDS.

June 13th, 1825.

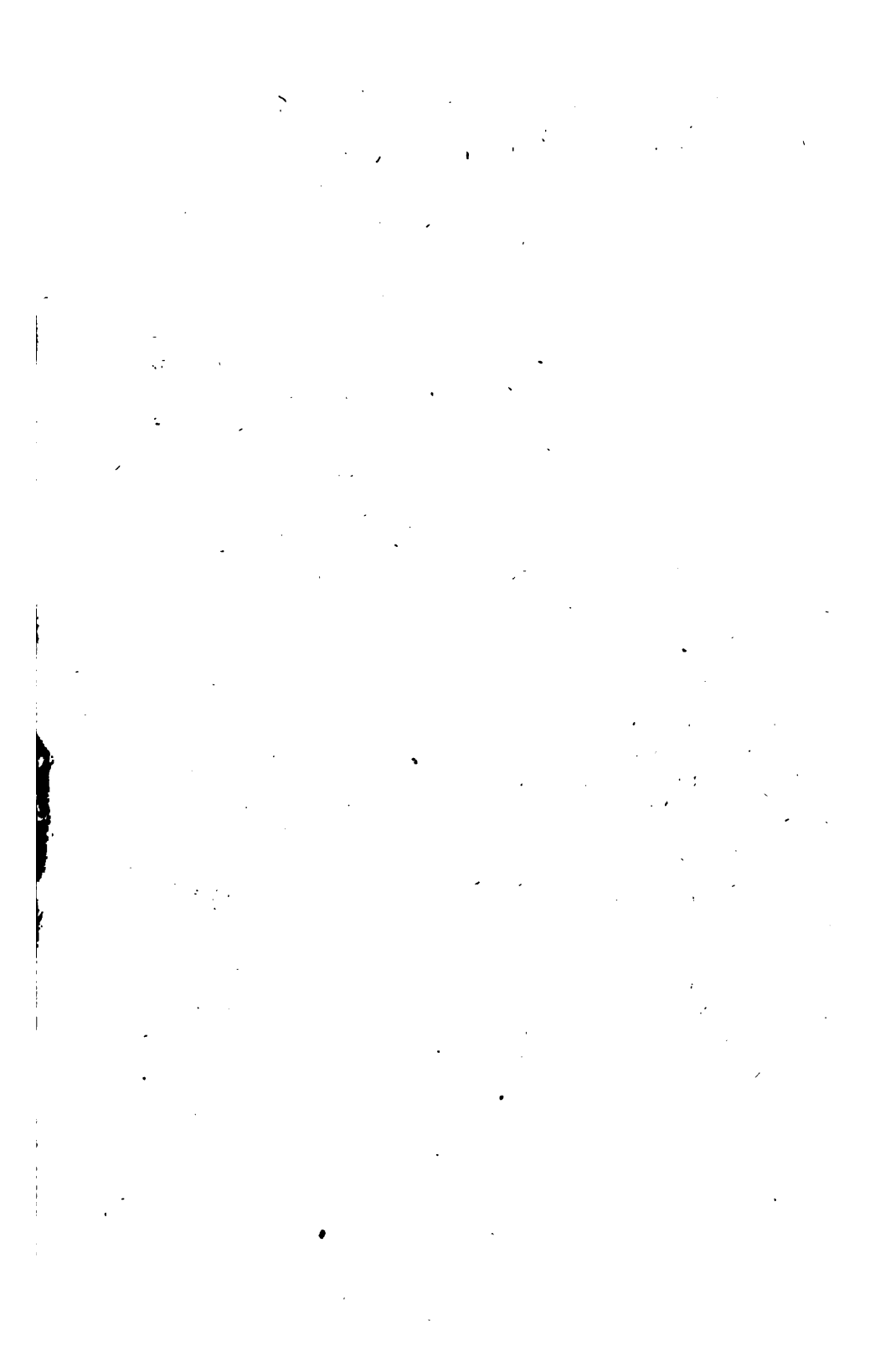
In foreign funds there is much inactivity, notwithstanding the near approach of the settling day. Brazilian scrip has been purchased largely at $1\frac{1}{2}$ discount. In shares considerable business continues to be reported. Anglo Mexican at 90 premium. In other shares the purchases are considerable, but there are little variations in the prices.

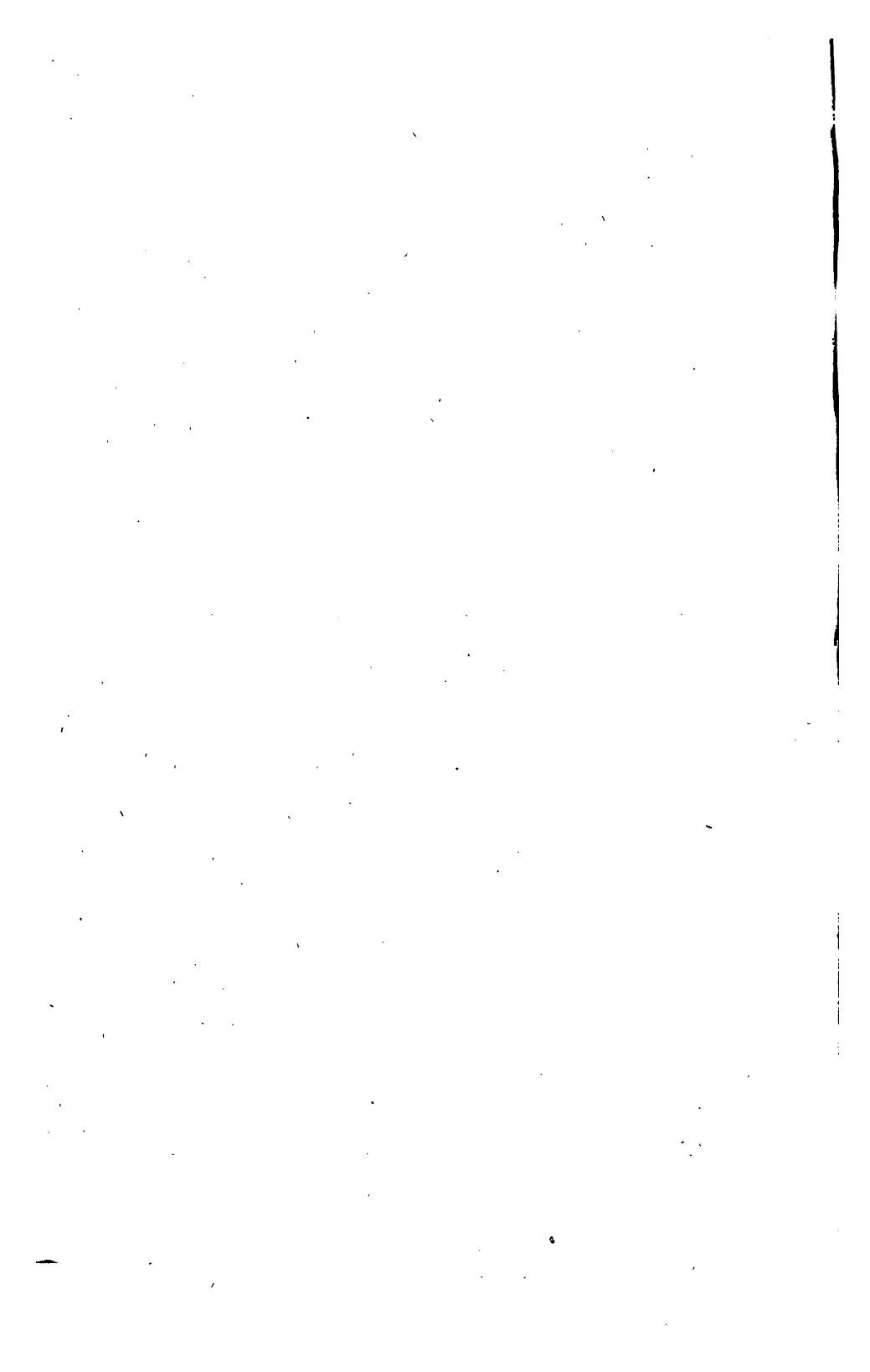
SHARE LIST—MINES.

	Share.	Paid.	Price per Share.
Anglo Mexican.....	100	20	115 $112\frac{1}{2}$
Anglo Chilean.....	100	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chilian.....	100	5	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manganese.....	20	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
Pasco Peruvian.....	100	5	17 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Potosi la Paz and Peruvian } association..... }	50	5	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
United Mexican, new.....	40	10	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Peruvian.....	100	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rio de la Plata agricultural } company..... }	100	5	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

SOUTH AMERICAN STOCKS.

Brazilian Bonds, 97 $\frac{1}{2}$	Do. 1824, 85 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6
Braz. scrip 1825, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	Do. acc. 86 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. acc. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.	Mexican Bonds, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
Buenos Ayres Bonds, 91 $\frac{1}{2}$	Do. scrip 1825, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.
Chilian Bonds, 82 $\frac{1}{2}$	Do. acc. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.
Colombian Bonds, 83 $\frac{1}{2}$	Peruvian scrip. 1825. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.





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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.



COLOMBIA.

TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND COLOMBIA.

Art. 1. There shall be a lasting, firm, and sincere alliance between the republic and people of Colombia, and the dominions and subjects of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors.

Art. 2. There shall be a reciprocal liberty of commerce between all the territories of Colombia and the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe. The citizens and subjects of the two

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countries respectively shall have liberty to go, freely and securely, with their ships and cargoes, to all those parts, ports, and rivers in the before-mentioned territories, where it is permitted, or may be permitted, for other foreigners to enter the same, and to remain and reside in any part of the said territories respectively: also to hire and occupy houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce; and generally, the merchants and traders of each nation respectively shall enjoy the most complete protection and security in their commerce, always being subject to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

Art. 3. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages, furthermore, that the citizens of Colombia shall have the same liberty of commerce and navigation which has been stipulated in the foregoing article, in all his dominions situated out of Europe, as extensively as it is now permitted, or may hereafter be permitted, to any other nation.

Art. 4. No other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of Colombia of any articles, the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of the dominions of his Britannic Majesty; nor shall other or higher duties be imposed on the importation into the territories of his Britannic Majesty, of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of Colombia, than what are paid, or may be paid, for similar articles, the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of any other foreign country; nor shall other or higher duties or imposts be levied in the territories or dominions of any of the contracting parties, on the exportation of any articles for the territories or dominions of the other, than those which are paid, or may be paid, for the exportation of the like articles for any other foreign country; nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the importation or exportation of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of the dominions and territories of Colombia, or of his Britannic Majesty, either for or from the said territories of Colombia, or for or from the said territories of his Britannic Majesty, that are not equally extended to all other nations.

Art. 5. No other or higher duties or imposts shall be levied on account of tonnage, light-house dues, or port fees, *pratique*, salvage in case of damage or shipwreck, or any other local expenses in any of the ports in the territories of his Britannic Majesty, on Colombian vessels, than the payments in the same ports by British vessels; nor in the ports of Colombia, on British vessels, than the payments in the same by Colombian vessels.

Art. 6. The same duties shall be paid on the importation into the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of Colombia, whether that importation be made in British or Colombian vessels; and the same duties shall be paid on the importation into the territories of Colombia of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, whether that importation be made in Colombian or British vessels. The same duties shall be paid, and the same discount and bounties granted, on the exportation of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of Colombia for the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, whether that importation be made in British or Colombian vessels; and the same duties shall be paid, and the same discount and bounties granted, on the exportation for Colombia, of any articles the natural produce, productions, or manufactures of the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, whether that exportation be made in Colombian or British vessels.

Art. 7. To avoid any misunderstanding with respect to the regulations which may respectively constitute a Colombian or British vessel, it is hereby agreed that all vessels built within the territories of Colombia, and belonging to a Colombian citizen or citizens, and whose captain and three-fourth parts of the mariners, at the least, are citizens of Colombia, except in such extreme cases as are otherwise especially provided for by law, shall be considered as Colombian vessels; and all vessels built within the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and belonging to a British subject or subjects, and whose captain and three-fourth parts of the mariners,

at the least, are British subjects, except in such extreme cases as are otherwise especially provided for by law, shall be considered as British vessels.

Art. 8. All merchants, commanders of vessels, and other citizens and subjects of the republic of Colombia and of his Britannic Majesty, shall have perfect liberty in all the territories of both powers respectively, to act for themselves in the management of their own affairs, or confide them to the management of whomsoever they may please, as broker, factor, agent, or interpreter, nor shall they be obliged to employ any other persons whatever for those purposes, nor to pay them any salary or remuneration, unless they wish so to employ them; and absolute liberty shall be given in all cases, to the purchaser and vender to contract and fix the price of any effects, merchandize, or manufactures, imported or exported from the territories of any of the two contracting parties, according as they shall themselves think proper.

Art. 9. In all that relates to the lading or unlading of vessels, the security of merchandize, manufactures, and effects, the inheritance of moveable goods, and the disposition of moveable property of all kinds and denominations, by sale, gift, exchange, or testament, or in any other manner whatever, as also with respect to the administration of justice, the citizens and subjects of the two contracting parties shall enjoy, in their respective territories and dominions, the same privileges, liberties, and rights, as the most favoured nation; and there shall not be levied upon them, on this account, any higher imposts or duties than those that are paid, or may be paid, by the citizens or subjects of the powers in whose territories or dominions they may reside. They shall be exempt from all compulsory military service by sea or land, and from all forced loans or exactions, or military requisitions; nor shall they be compelled to pay any ordinary contribution, greater than what may be paid by the citizens or subjects of either power, under any pretext whatever.

Art. 10. Each of the two contracting parties shall be at liberty

to appoint consuls for the protection of their commerce, to reside in the territories and dominions of the other party; but previous to any consul acting as such, he shall be approved and admitted, in the usual form, by the government to whom it may be sent; and any of the contracting parties can except from the residence of consuls such particular parts as either of them may think proper to except.

Art. 11. For the better security of commerce between the citizens of Colombia and the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, it has been agreed that if, at any time, any interruption of their amicable commercial intercourse should unfortunately take place, or in case of any rupture happening between the two contracting parties, the citizens or subjects of either of the two contracting parties, resident in the territories or dominions of the other, shall have the privilege of remaining or continuing their traffic there, without any kind of interruption, so long as they shall conduct themselves peaceably, and shall not commit any offence against the laws; and such of their effects and property as may be already confided to private individuals, or to the state, shall not be subject to seizure or sequestration, or to any other demands other than what are made upon similar effects or property belonging to the citizens or subjects of the state in which they may reside.

Art. 12. The citizens of Colombia shall enjoy throughout all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, a perfect and unlimited liberty of conscience, and the exercise of their religion publicly, or privately in their own houses, or in the chapels or places of worship destined for that purpose, conformably to the system of toleration established throughout the dominions of his Britannic Majesty. In like manner the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, resident in the territories of Colombia, shall enjoy the most perfect and entire liberty of conscience, without being in any manner exposed to be molested, disquieted, or disturbed, on account of their religious belief, nor in the free exercise of their religion, provided it be performed in their private houses, and with the reve-

rence due to the divine worship, respecting the laws, usages, and customs established. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall also have liberty of interment for such of them as die in the said territories of Colombia, in such places as they may deem fit and proper to establish for such purpose, with the consent of the local authorities; and the funerals or burial-places of the dead shall not be violated in any manner, nor on any pretext.

Art. 13. The government of Colombia engages to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty to obtain the total abolition of the slave-trade, and to prohibit in the most effectual manner, all persons inhabiting the territories of Colombia from taking any part in such traffic.

Art. 14. And inasmuch as it is convenient and necessary to facilitate to the utmost a mutual good understanding between the two contracting parties, and to remove beforehand every kind of difficulty, and that other articles may be proposed and added to the present treaty, which, for the want of time and the pressure of circumstances, cannot now be drawn up with the proper precision, it has been agreed and is hereby agreed on the part of both powers, that they shall mutually endeavour, with the least possible delay, to treat and agree upon the articles that may be found wanting in this treaty, and which may be judged mutually advantageous; and such articles, when they are agreed upon and duly ratified, shall form part of the present treaty of alliance, commerce, and navigation.

Art. 15. The present treaty of alliance, commerce and navigation, shall be ratified by the president or vice-president intrusted with the executive power of the republic of Colombia, with the consent and approbation of the congress of the same, and by his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London within six months from the present day, or sooner if possible.

In testimony of which the respective plenipotentiaries have mutually signed and sealed these presents.

Given in the city of Bogota, the 18th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord, 1825.

PEDRO GUAL.

PEDRO BRICENO MENDEZ.

JOHN POTTER HAMILTON.

PATRICK CAMPBELL.

Additional Article.—Inasmuch as in the present state of the Colombian marine, it would not be possible for any Colombian to take the benefit of the reciprocity established in the fifth, sixth and seventh articles of the treaty signed this day, if that part which stipulates that in order to be considered as a Colombian vessel, the vessel must have been really built in Colombia, it has been agreed that for the space of seven years, reckoned from the date of the ratification of this treaty, all vessels, wherever they may have been built, that are *bond fide* the property of one or more of the citizens of Colombia, and whose captain and three-fourth parts of the mariners, at the least, are also Colombian citizens, except in those cases especially provided for by law, shall be considered as Colombian vessels, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland reserving to himself the right, at the end of the said term of seven years, to enforce the principle of mutual restriction stipulated in the seventh article above referred to, if the interests of the British shipping should be injured by the present exception of that reciprocity in favour of Colombian vessels.

The present additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day : it shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have severally signed and put their seals to it.

Given in the city of Bogota, 18th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord, 1825.

(Signed as above.)

TREATY BETWEEN COLOMBIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

The treaty does not differ materially from those concluded between Great Britain and the South American States, though here are explanations on some points which are disregarded in these conventions. The following articles are peculiar, establishing the principle that free ships make free goods:—

Art. 12.—It shall be lawful for the citizens of the United States of America and the republic of Colombia to sail with their ships, with all manner of liberty and security, no distinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden thereon, from any port to the places of those who now are or hereafter shall be at enmity with either of the contracting parties. It shall likewise be lawful for the citizens aforesaid to sail with the ships and merchandizes before-mentioned, and to trade with the same liberty and security from the places, ports, and havens, of those who are enemies of both or either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, not only directly from the places of the enemy, before-mentioned, to neutral places, but also from one place belonging to an enemy, to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of one power, or under several. And it is hereby stipulated that free ships shall also give freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be deemed free and exempt, which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the citizens of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, should appertain to the enemies of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is also agreed, in like manner, that the same liberty be extended to persons who are on board a free ship, with this effect—that although they be enemies to both or either party, they are not to be taken out of that free ship, unless they are officers or soldiers, and in the actual service of the enemies: provided however, and it is hereby agreed, that the stipulations in this article contained, declaring that the flag shall cover the property, shall be

understood as applying to those powers only who recognize this principle; but if either of the two contracting parties shall be at war with a third, and the other neutral, the flag of the neutral shall cover the property of enemies whose governments acknowledge this principle, and not of others.

Art. 13. It is likewise agreed, that in the case where the neutral flag of one of the contracting parties shall protect the property of the enemies of the other, by virtue of the above stipulation, it shall always be understood that the neutral property found on board such enemy's vessels, shall be held and considered as enemy's property, and as such shall be liable to detention and confiscation, except such property as was put on board such vessel before the declaration of war, or even afterwards, if it were done without the knowledge of it; but the contracting parties agree, that two months having elapsed after the declaration, their citizens shall not plead ignorance thereof. On the contrary if the flag of the neutral does not protect the enemy's property, in that case, the goods and merchandizes of the neutral, embarked in such enemy's ship, shall be free.

There are some exceptions on the subject of goods contraband of war. Regulations are also made respecting the search of vessels in time of war; but it is agreed that these stipulations shall refer only to those vessels which sail without convoy, and that when said vessels shall be under convoy, the verbal declaration of the commander of the convoy, on his word of honour, that the vessels under his protection belong to the nation whose flag he carries, and when they are bound to an enemy's port, that they have no contraband goods on board, shall be sufficient.

The following articles are also not usual in treaties :—

Art. 22. Whenever one of the contracting parties shall be engaged in war with another state, no citizen of the other contracting party shall accept a commission, or letter of marque, for the purpose of assisting or co-operating hostilely, with the said enemy, against the said party so at war, under the pain of being treated as a pirate.

Art. 23.—If by any fatality which cannot be expected, and which God forbid, the two contracting parties shall be engaged in a war with each other, they have agreed, and do agree, now for then, that there shall be allowed the term of six months to the merchants residing on the coast, and in the ports of each other, and the term of one year to those who dwell in the interior, to arrange their business, and transport their effects wherever they please, giving to them the safe conduct necessary for it, which may serve as a sufficient protection until they arrive at the designated port. The citizens of all other occupations who may be established in the territories or dominions of the United States and of the republic of Colombia, shall be respected and maintained in the full enjoyment of their personal liberty and property, unless their particular conduct shall cause them to forfeit this protection, which, in consideration of humanity, the contracting parties engage to give them.

Art. 24.—Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation to the individuals of the other, nor shares, nor monies, which they may have in the public funds, nor in the public or private banks, shall ever, in any extent of war, or of national difference, be sequestered or confiscated.

DECREE OF THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT FOR SECURING
THE PAYMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The Colombian government, desiring to co-operate in supporting the credit of the republic by the punctuality with which it pays its debts, and there not having, as yet, passed a law to fund the national foreign debt in a fixed, secure, and irrevocable manner, has resolved to decree as follows:

Art. 1. The fourth part of the produce of the maritime custom-houses, arising from duties on exportation and importation, shall be faithfully deposited in the chests of the said custom-houses, from July next inclusive, without any possibility of altering its destination.

Art. 2. At the conclusion of December, this year, the office of the customs shall pay into the provincial treasury the whole of the duties thus collected, and the treasury will carefully pack them up for the purpose of being transmitted to where the governor may direct; the same governor being required to lend the necessary aid to secure its safe conveyance.

Art. 3. The treasury of Guayana shall remit to the departmental treasury. The latter collecting the portion which belongs to its district, shall remit it to Carthagena, collecting on its part that which belongs to Barcelona. The departmental treasury of Venezuela shall collect that which belongs to Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, and shall give it the same direction on Carthagena, whither will likewise flow the remittances of Rio Hacho, Coro Maracaibo, and Santa Martha. The part belonging to Guayaquil and the ports of the Pacific shall be collected at Panama, with that of Chagres and Puertovelo. The intendants of Magdalena, and of the Isthmus, will in proper time, receive orders about the destination of their funds.

Art. 4. (Like the foregoing this is merely one of regulation.)

Art. 5. By the present decree, and former orders which have been transmitted to the custom-houses, for the redemption of the domestic debt created before 1821, the produce of the maritime custom-houses not applied to any other object shall be considered as divided into four parts, of which one shall be applied to the purpose expressed in this decree, a second to the said redemption of domestic debt, and the two remaining parts to the ways and means of their respective departments.

Art. 6. But if unforeseen circumstances should oblige the intendants to redeem any debt contracted by them, and approved by the government with a part of the unappropriated two-fourths, they may take their measures accordingly, only apprising the government of the fact.

Art. 7. When neither the law nor the executive shall make any different arrangement, the retention of the fourth part shall be observed as in article 1st, from January, 1825, and hence-

forward, every six months' remittances shall take place of what has been collected. By articles 8 and 9, the intendants are ordered to observe this decree, and the secretary of the treasury to secure its execution.

COLONEL CAMPBELL'S ADDRESS TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE
VICE PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA.

On the 3d instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the secretary of state for foreign affairs presented to his excellency the vice president, intrusted with the executive power, in the presence of the other secretaries of state, Colonel P. Campbell, in quality of charge d'affaires from his Britannic Majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the government of the republic of Colombia. Col. Campbell addressed his excellency in the following terms:—

Sir—Permit me, on being presented to your Excellency as charge d'affaires from the government of Great Britain, to express the satisfaction I feel on receiving the charge intrusted to me, and my joy in seeing established the bonds of amity and union, by which the interests and good understanding of Great Britain and Colombia are inseparably united by means of the treaty just signed; and while I assure your Excellency that my government will do every thing in their power to preserve in all their force the connections established by that treaty, I feel perfectly persuaded that the government of Colombia will be actuated by a corresponding feeling.

As a British subject, I may also be permitted to assure your Excellency, that the measure adopted by the British government is most congenial with the feelings of the people of Great Britain, who have always taken the most lively interest in the prosperity of Colombia.

Permit me, likewise, to congratulate your Excellency on the progressive prosperity of Colombia, and on the harmony, patriotism, and submission to the laws, which I have observed in all parts of the republic in which I have been, and among all classes of citizens; virtues which promise to preserve domestic tranquillity, and to promote the general good, as much as the valour and great talents of the illustrious Liberator have secured its political independence.

Colonel Campbell then presented Mr. Wall as secretary of the British legation.

His excellency replied as follows :—The government and the republic of Colombia begin to see satisfied the anxiety with which they have striven to merit the friendship of the government and people of England; and I hope that the treaty just concluded, may be the first link of that bond which is to strengthen and promote the relations established between the two powers. I am highly pleased; and I am sure that my pleasure on this occasion will be shared by my country, at beholding the affairs of the powerful English nation placed in the hands of a gentleman of that commission which had been so distinguished for its justice and public virtues.

MEXICO.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN FEDERATION, DON GUADALOUPE VICTORIA, ADDRESSED TO THE MEXICANS ON THE 14th OF MARCH.

Fellow-citizens, at the beginning of the year I announced to you that in all free countries wishes were formed for the consolidation of Mexican independence, and that as soon as foreigners were in a situation to calculate the immense value which union has given to our collective and individual prosperity, they would place us in the rank of independent and sovereign nations. On

the same day which, by presentiment or in consequence of my inquiries into the march of affairs in both worlds, I fixed for that great event, the cabinet of His Britannic Majesty, placing itself in the vanguard of Europe, recognized the existence, the power, and the stability of our republic. An event of such magnitude was officially announced to you as soon as intelligence was obtained of it, and I reserved to myself the satisfaction of congratulating you, that I might communicate the ineffable delight of my heart to all who are capable of sympathizing in the happiness of their country.

This, Mexicans, is the fruit of so much bloodshed—of so many sufferings and sacrifices endured. This is the reward of the valour and constancy displayed in the war of liberty. This is the rank of importance to which our destinies called us, and which has been the conquest of the sword no less than that of the judgment and circumspection of Mexicans.

Before now we committed to the national vigour and the national courage the triumph of justice, and we had generously resolved to seal with the blood of oppressors and oppressed the oath once made and a thousand times repeated in battle—to die or to destroy the enemies of independence. From this time forward the first civilized nations will lend their support to a rich and vast continent, in which there have arisen several states worthy of being received into the great family of nations. A revolution so important has not occurred in past ages. Exult, Mexicans, in the share which you have had in events which so powerfully affect the fate of the world. My satisfaction is in proportion to my former desires, and to the efforts which I employed with the greatest success to bring about the brilliant morning of your felicity. My misfortunes, the school of adversity, and the great book of revolution, placed me in a situation to compare interests with interests, the relations of our country with others, the demands of the skilful cabinet of St. James, its position, and the circumstances which concerned the New and the Old World.

It is a long time since, in my anticipation, this treaty appeared

of immense value, among the acts which decide the fate of nations. Without exposing myself to the charge of vain-boasting, I will venture to say, that my hands traced on the sands of Vera-Cruz the first lines of the edifice on which our exterior security reposes; and if there were not sentiments which cannot be suppressed by men who love their country, I would be silent both now and for ever on what I have done, and have to do, to prepare, realize, and conclude the last act of a struggle continued for so many years. This nation, on escaping from its degradation, knew its dignity, and by the rare forces of its genius, its talent, and its valour, has displayed a singular character, has placed itself at the head of civilization, by the practice of all the social virtues, and has multiplied the testimonies of its courage, of its good sense, and of a moral rectitude, which future ages will never sufficiently admire.

These are the true principles of the respect which Mexico obtains among the nations, which before they pronounced their honourable decision, subjected to the most rigorous examination the most insignificant steps of our political conduct. That conduct offers incontestable models of worth. It presents those of unlimited moderation, of consummate prudence, and of a heroism which our political martyrs supported on the scaffold, in prison, and in the field of battle, against the enemies of our country.

By invoking its adorable name, passions have been extinguished, the parties which raised their fury are ended; and in this nation of sweet and benign dispositions, reconciliation has taken place as between brothers. This people are indisputably humane and noble-minded in the opinion of other nations.

Europe could not support for a longer time the maxims and the injustice of three centuries. The ideas which prevail now among men are those of universal expediency, profoundly calculated on solid and reciprocal interests,—on the advantage of the community. The population, the advancement of knowledge in America, the elements of abundance which it possesses, a virgin and a fruitful soil, rich mines—all these things called for a new order, for an

order which nature and the destinies of the world have irrevocably created in our happy country.

Mexicans, you have arrived at the summit of good fortune, the most powerful of nations enumerates you in her catalogue of states, and you highly deserve the place which has been assigned you. Other nations, by the spirit of selfishness and even of generosity, will approach you with beneficent and peaceable views; and Mexico will become the universal friend of men—the country of the unfortunate—the emporium of trade.

Fellow-citizens, be not uneasy at the coalition of certain continental sovereigns. Up to this time, their policy is mysterious; if it should appear contrary to the sacred principles of our existence, our arms can sustain those principles with honour. Friends in peace, enemies in war, we provoke no party, we fear no party.

My friends, the good faith which has distinguished you, will always make you be remembered both at home and abroad; envy and jealousy have disappeared, and not a shadow is preserved of the misfortunes and the errors which are past. There do not now exist under the laws of the Mexican republic, men who are not Mexicans. There is neither danger nor fear. Never, never, may return to disturb our repose, and our nascent happiness, offensive individuals, slight hatreds, or mutual recriminations!

Fellow-countrymen, five months have elapsed since you elected me to preside over your public affairs. My republican frankness rejoices in the prosperity which Providence has conferred upon you in so short an interval, and which is the recompense of your wisdom and your virtues. It has given enough to the country; it is going to be elevated to a higher sphere, and the future is more flattering still. Continue as heretofore, and Mexico will in a short time be the admiration of the world.

My friends, the whole of my glory consists in belonging to you.

GUADALOUPE VICTORIA.

Mexico, March 14th, 1825.

**SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
MEXICAN STATES, ON CLOSING THE SESSION OF THE CON-
STITUTIONAL FEDERAL CONGRESS.**

Gentlemen of the Federal Congress,

In conforming with the constitutional law, I laid before the chambers in January of the present year, the state of the republic; and I now have the honour of announcing, that from that time to the present, our situation has been sensibly improving, and that our nation, far from retrograding or becoming weaker, has been acquiring strength, and advancing in the career of prosperity and power.

The federal bond has been generally preserved and consolidated. The greater part of the states have sanctioned their constitution, or are about to do so. Each of them labours in establishing or in rectifying its administration. All of them will show an emulation and zeal, as they have partly done, to supply the contingent which corresponds with their extent, and without which the institutions by which we are governed would become inert and powerless. In a word, looking at the data which we have on this head, and the good fortune and happiness with which Heaven has hitherto advanced the fortunes of the republic, we may hope that each state, proceeding in its own orbit, towards its own good, without neglecting that of the federation, and revolving (if we may be allowed the expression) around the common government, will exhibit, in political order, an imposing spectacle of equilibrium, with the precision and the harmony which distinguish the great masses of our universe.

The Executive Power has neither lost, nor could lose sight of morals and knowledge; and to promote what regards them, a junta is actually occupied in a great project of public education, in order that Mexicans may no longer be under the necessity of

going in search of improvement to other countries. At the same time, establishments, tending to promote the dignity and the grandeur of the republic, its agriculture, together with its commerce and industry, have all been advancing in a manner very preceptible to those who, casting their eyes back upon past times, recollect their condition in the days of our humiliation and slavery.

Thus the idea is produced and confirmed in us, that the spirit of regulating every thing by the government, and of mixing with every thing, is the most efficacious means which it can employ to diminish or banish, perhaps for ever, abundance and wealth; and that, on the contrary, to introduce and encourage them, an enlightened and beneficent administration ought only to remove important obstacles, leaving the rest to the action and interest of individuals.

At present, in what respects the management and direction of the finances, the labours which have been completed and those which have been prepared are immense. Confining myself to the results, the chambers should be acquainted that the army has been paid, that the military magazines have been provided, that the civil list has been satisfied, that the last loan has been realized on advantageous terms, that their subsistence-money and credit have been paid to the cultivators of tobacco, that a part of the debt has been extinguished, that paper money no longer exists, that a considerable quantity of arms and all sorts of stores have been acquired, and that funds have been allocated at different places for the purchase of vessels (of war), that a system of order and economy has been introduced which has saved large sums, and that the administration of the public money only needs for its consolidation and perfection a decision on some projects submitted to the legislative body.

The military branch is likewise proceeding towards a sensible improvement. The *corps* of all arms are completing. Discipline is re-establishing. The law on desertion will powerfully contribute to promote this object. At the same time, the state of Chiapas has been garrisoned. Our frontier on the west and the north has

been fortified with particular attention to the side of Tejas; and the labours which have been undertaken, and are still prosecuted, to form a general plan of defence (for which engineers, formed among ourselves, have gone to draw plans of our coasts, mountains, and approaches) will always do honour to the knowledge of the Mexican staff, and evince, in a decisive manner, the vigilance and circumspection of the executive power.

As regards our navy, although it has been well supplied and managed, yet, if we attend to the number and force of our vessels, it may be said that it has scarce passed its infancy. The government had thought that they might reckon by this time upon a respectable force in both seas; but inevitable obstacles have, till now, deprived us of that assistance which we shall indubitably obtain in a few months. In the mean time, an expedition has sailed to provide the Californias with all kinds of assistance. Our port of Manzanillo, one of the most secure, spacious, and magnificent of the globe, has been ordered to be repaired: and the port of Galveston has been fortified. Orders have been given to construct gun-boats in our territory, by which means our resources will multiply, civilization will advance, commerce will increase, and that which ought to interest us the most—the art of ship-building—of which we so much stand in need, especially in the Pacific, will begin to prosper.

Our judicial administration was incomplete and lame, before we possessed a supreme court to decide questions of general interest, and to provide for what the territory and the finances of the federation require. But, fortunately, on the 15th of March, the supreme court of justice was installed. The powers of the state are now in the plenitude of their exercise, and when the law which regulates in detail its jurisdiction and proceedings shall be concluded, the chaos into which we were plunged by the want of it will be removed. Thus, although some disagreeable occurrences may have taken place in the mean time, and some insolated disturbances may have been exhibited, considering things in general, and taking a rapid view of our interior, we shall be convinced that or-

der and union exist in the republic—that the government is consolidating at a rapid rate—that the germs of our well-being are unfolding themselves beyond our expectation, and—what ought to fill us with complacency, and even with pride—that this is realizing itself by establishing a system difficult and new, on the basis of knowledge.

The view of our relations with most foreign states is equally flattering and satisfactory with our internal condition, and the chambers have a prospect of fortune, splendour, and greatness, which the powers of the republic will consolidate by good faith, justice and moderation. England, the most powerful state of Europe in respect to us, has acknowledged the independence of Anahuac, and that nation, which, living thousands of leagues from our shores, may yet be said to inhabit the American continent, and to border on our confines, has concluded on this basis treaties of amity, navigation, and commerce, which have been duly submitted to the chambers, and now received their approbation. Such an event, which will be one of the most memorable in our history, increases the power and consideration of the republic; and its example will not fail to be imitated by ultramarine powers, who cannot, did they desire it, do us harm, and whom we can benefit by opening to them our markets under the same guarantee. Perhaps some years will pass before a certain power will offer to recognize us and confess the legitimacy of our emancipation, although that power ought to have been the first to anticipate it; and although many opportunities have been presented for that purpose, determined on self-destruction, and existing in a condition of weakness and consumption, its eyes acquire new animation to direct against us their threatening looks. But these paroxysms of fury will one day cease; and when the epoch of reconciliation arrives—an epoch which we desire the less for our good than for its own—then it will acknowledge, that while its impotent rage endeavoured to deprive us of liberty and all its advantages, we, on the contrary, were animated towards it with sentiments of moderation, benevolence, and generosity.

Coming now to the American nations, I have to state that our plenipotentiary has already resided some time in Washington, in all the plenitude of diplomatic acknowledgment, while in a short time the plenipotentiary of the United States of the north, who has already reached our territory, will reside in our capital. On the same footing, the ambassador of our sister republic and ally, the warlike Colombia, remains amongst us, and, about to nominate as soon as possible, on our part, a plenipotentiary, we have at present a chargé d'affairs in that republic. The minister of the United States of Central America has some time ago presented his credentials, and has been solemnly recognized in Mexico, while the Mexican government, on its part, has proposed to the senate a reciprocal mission to these states. Finally, a mission has set out to put us in contact with the head of the church; and desiring to lose no opportunity of promoting our improvement, youths have been appointed to devote themselves to the study of diplomacy; and some pensioners from our academy have been selected, who by acquiring the best taste in the fine arts, may be able to transplant them into our republic.

But when speaking of our external relations, it is proper that I should call the attention of the chambers to an event which naturally interests every American, which raises the feeling of their power and dignity, and which, although it occurred in an isolated point, must be considered as a domestic circumstance to all America. In the plains of Ayacucho, the monster of tyranny has breathed its last, and the power of the Peninsula has for ever terminated on our continent. Valour, constancy, and tried disinterestedness, are the characteristics of that memorable day. An army without pay, a victorious force, incomparably less, a most obstinate and sustained resistance, and a rout the most complete and universal which could be desired, present a model of republican heroism, and a well-merited title to immortality for Sucre, for his army, and for the Liberator. A treaty of alliance had already identified the most essential interests, the fortunes and the destiny of Mexico and Colombia; and we have been in consequence ir-

vited to the assembly of the representatives of the American republics, which is soon to take place, for the purpose of securing the establishment of their general emancipation, and neutralizing the oppressive views and projects of those who desire to extinguish among Americans the feelings, nay, even the idea and the memory of liberty and independence.

The time has therefore arrived, in which the nation may indulge its pride, since it owes so much to its good sense and its good feeling, and in which the chambers may enjoy the purest pleasure in seeing the happy issue of their labours, their zeal, and their exertions for the public good. Much yet remains to be done to reach the point at which the nation ought to aim. We are as yet only sowing, but the soil is of the most fertile kind, and we have at hand moisture in abundance. With what satisfaction then, and with what zeal ought the powers of the nation to cultivate the precious field which has been intrusted to them. For my part, and to conclude, I have the honour to recommend to the legislative body the passing of several grave and important measures, which are pending, and which benumb the course of administration. In the mean time the government trusts that the interval of the recess will be employed in preparing and forwarding the labours of the commissions, that when the time of the meeting of the chambers arrives, they may resolve and consult, in the most expeditious manner, to promote the advancement and felicity of the republic which we all desire to see at its height as soon as possible.

ANSWER OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
CONGRESS TO THE FOREGOING SPEECH.

Sir,—Truly the public welfare advances and acquires perfection among us, we have just been told in the speech of the first magistrate of the executive power. It is only a year since we laboured at our constitution, and the new order of things has already nearly reached its full development. The impulse which appears in the

career of free nations comes, in a great measure, from the New World. An impulse given by the general will, regulated and sustained by laws well considered, like those which compose our valuable federal code, must keep us in perpetual progress, and must raise our republic to a splendour and opulence easy to be foreseen. We are still in our infancy. This is the first constitutional congress of the federation ; and if we join to what the government has said what is greatest in the deliberations and labours of both chambers during the period of their first session, it will be seen that every thing is important, and that every thing is conformable to the spirit and the nature of the system which regulates us.

Well-meditated projects for perfecting the exercise of the supreme judicial power of the federation ; for organizing the active militia ; for defining the privileges which, by combining the public with individual interest, secure the fruits of their exertions to talent and industry ; for regulating the army, and preventing disorder, or chastising it, consistently with the self-respect of the soldier ; for establishing a new port, to encourage our commerce, and facilitate the export of the first fruits of our nascent agriculture ; and—that which is of the greatest importance—for establishing a concordat with the Apostolic See, for placing us in communication with the sovereign pontiff, and for providing pastors to the Mexican church, which now exists in an orphan state ;—such, together with the debates worthy of the zealous representatives of this new nation on the treaty of commerce and friendship between us and the King of Great Britain, appear amid the labours and deliberations of the last five months. All this is important to the nation, and all is conformable to the federal system. Eternal honour to the representatives and the president of the United States of Mexico, who carry forward this great people to the highest destinies ! It is true that the greater part of our projects, although discussed in the chamber in which they originated, still remain under the examination of the chamber of revision. It was not allowable for us to precipitate the legislative march of the two assemblies combined

to deliberate—a march as majestic as slow in its very nature ; nor did the law permit us to lengthen the session beyond the present day ; but the same law which now prorogues us will assemble us at its usual time, and the nation will again see us employed in perfecting our labours.

PERU.

MESSAGE TO THE SOVEREIGN CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF PERU.

Gentlemen,—The representatives of the Peruvian people meet this day, under the auspices of the splendid victory of Ayacucho, which has fixed for ever the destinies of the New World.

Twelve months have elapsed since the congress created the dictatorial authority, with the view of saving the republic, which was sinking, oppressed with the weight of the most dreadful calamities. But the beneficent hand of the liberating army has cured the heart-wounds of the country ; it has broken the chains riveted by Pizarro on the sons of Manco Capac, the founder of the empire of the sun, and has restored Peru to the enjoyment of her rights.

My administration cannot properly be so called, but rather a campaign ; scarcely have we had the time necessary to arm and to combat, the confusion and disasters that prevailed leaving us no alternative but that of defending ourselves. As the army has triumphed with so much glory for the arms of Peru, I deem myself bound to request of the congress that they will duly reward the valour and the virtue of the defenders of their country.

The tribunals have been established according to the fundamental laws. I have ordered that concealed merits may be sought out, and placed in the judgment seat : I have carefully enquired for those who modestly profess the worship of conscience—the religion of the laws.

The national revenue was almost exhausted : fraud corrupted all its channels, want of order augmented the misery of the state.

I was myself compelled to institute essential reforms; and dictate severe ordinances, in order that the republic might once more recover her existence; convinced that, for the support of social life, gold must flow through its veins.

The crisis of the republic invited a mighty reform that, perhaps, the course of ages might never again present. The political edifice had been destroyed by crime and war. I found myself on the field of desolation, but possessed, at the same time, of power to erect a beneficent government upon it. Notwithstanding my ardent zeal for the good of Peru, I cannot venture to assure the congress that this work has been brought to that perfection with which my hopes had flattered me. All the wisdom of congress will be required to give to the country that organization which she requires, and the felicity which liberty promises to her. Permit me to observe, that not being myself a Peruvian, I encountered extraordinary difficulties in the execution of so arduous an undertaking.

Our relations with the republic of Colombia have produced the most powerful effects in our favour. Our ally and confederator has reserved nothing from us; she has employed her treasures, her marine, and her army, in warring against the common enemy, as in her own cause.

The congress will observe in these efforts of Colombia, the infinite advantage which America will derive from the intimate and strict union of the new states. Persuaded as I am of the mighty benefits which will result from the meeting of the congress of representatives, I have hastened to invite our confederates in the name of Peru, in order that, without loss of time, we may behold in the Isthmus of Panama, that august assembly which is to seal our perpetual alliance.

The republic of Chili has placed at the disposition of our government a part of her marine, commanded by the gallant Vice-Admiral Blanco, who is at present blockading the fortress of Callao with Chilean and Colombian forces.

The states of Mexico, Guatemala, and Buenos-Ayres, have made us offer of assistance: but this we have not required, on account of the celerity of our success. These republics have constituted themselves, and they continue to maintain their internal tranquillity.

The diplomatic agent of the republic of Colombia is the only one that, in these circumstances, has been accredited to our government.

The Consuls of Colombia, of the United States of America, and of Great Britain, have presented themselves in this capital, to exercise their functions: the last had the misfortune to perish in a lamentable manner; the other two have obtained the necessary *exequatur* to enter on the duties of their office.

After the recent military events in Peru are known in Europe, there is every probability that those governments will decide definitively on the policy which they ought to adopt. I flatter myself that Great Britain will be the first to recognize our independence. If we can place dependence on the declarations of France, she will not be far behind England in this liberal step; and in like manner the rest of Europe will pursue the same conduct. Even Spain itself, if she listens to the voice of her true interests, will no longer oppose herself to the existence of the new states, who have just completed the social system of the universe.

Legislators!—On returning to the congress the supreme power which they deposited in my hands, I may be permitted to felicitate the people on freeing themselves from what is most terrible in the world—from war, by the victory of Ayacucho—and from despotism, by my resignation. Proscribe for ever, I beseech you, so dreadful an authority!—an authority that was the sepulchre of Rome! It was laudable, without doubt, in the congress, to escape from horrid abysses, and to avoid encountering furious tempests, to confide its laws to the bayonets of the liberating army; but now that the nation has obtained domestic peace and political liberty, none should command except the laws.

Gentlemen,—The congress is installed. My duties as an auxiliary soldier, call me to contribute to the liberty of Upper Peru,

and to the capture of Callao, the last bulwark of the Spanish empire in South America. After which I shall fly to my country, to give an account to the representatives of the Colombian people, of my mission to Peru, of your liberty, and of the glory of the liberating army.

BOLIVAR.

BRAZIL.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR DON PEDRO I. AGAINST ABSOLUTE POWER.

The governor of the province of St. Paulo states in a letter of the 5th of May, that he has been making a tour among the towns within his jurisdiction, and finds the people every where disposed to proclaim his majesty as the absolute sovereign; he hopes the capital will declare itself to this effect, and that his majesty will be restored to the enjoyment of his inalienable rights. In consequence of this his majesty has issued the following decree:—

“Having been informed of the reprehensible conduct of Manoel da Cunha de Azerdo Continho Souza e Chicoro, in taking criminal and scandalous steps contrary to the established system of government, and to the constitution which I have sworn to maintain, I have resolved, with the advice of my council of state, to suspend him from the exercise of his functions, and to order him immediately to come to this capital to answer for such blameable proceedings.”

D. PEDRO I.

BUENOS AYRES.

FIRST DECREE OF THE GENERAL CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF LA PLATA; A LAW WHICH FIXES PROVISIONALLY THE STATE OF THE CONFEDERATION, &c.

The general constituent congress of the United Provinces has decreed and decrees, as follows:

Art. 1. The provinces of the river La Plata, assembled in congress, renewed by the organ of their deputies, and in the most solemn manner, the compact, by which they bound themselves from the moment when, shaking off the yoke of the Spanish dominion, they proclaimed their independence; and they again swear to employ all the means in their power to maintain this independence, and mutually to promote the general felicity.

Art. 2. The general congress declares itself legislative and constituent.

Art. 3. Till the promulgation of the general constitution which the congress is to give to the federation, each province shall preserve the particular institutions which it now possesses.

Art. 4. Whatever relates to the independence, to the integrity, to the safety, to the defence, and to the prosperity of the nation, is essentially connected with the authority of the general congress.

Art. 5. The general congress shall, consequently, adopt such measures as it may judge necessary, relatively to the objects mentioned in the preceding article.

Art. 6. The constitution which shall be adopted and sanctioned, by the general congress, shall be submitted to the approbation of the provinces previously to its promulgation; nor shall it become a fundamental law of the confederation, till after having obtained this approbation.

Art. 7. Till the establishment of a federal executive power; the government of the province of Buenos Ayres shall be invested with the following powers :

1st, It shall exercise that which relates to foreign affairs, to the appointment of ministers to foreign governments, and to the reception of the ministers of these governments to the United Provinces.

2dly, It shall make treaties, conventions, &c. with foreign governments; but it shall not ratify these acts without the special authority of the general congress.

3dly, It shall communicate to the governments of the provinces of the confederation, the resolutions adopted by the general congress, concerning the objects mentioned in Article 4.

4thly, It shall propose to the general congress the measures which it may judge calculated to ameliorate the administration of affairs.

Art. 8. The present law shall be communicated to the different governments of the United Provinces by the president of the general congress.

MANUEL ANTONIO CASTRO, President,

ALEGI VILLEGAS, Secretary.

Buenos Ayres, 23rd Jan. 1825.

The government of the province of Buenos Ayres replied in the following manner to the communication of this law :

Buenos Ayres, 27th Jan. 1825.

The government of the province of Buenos Ayres has received the fundamental law, decreed the 23rd of this month, by the general constituent congress of the United Provinces of La Plata, which the president of this body transmitted to it by his letter of the 24th.

Impressed with the urgency of dispatching foreign affairs, with the difficulty of promptly and permanently providing for the establishment of an executive power ; considering, besides, the disposition constantly manifested by the province of Buenos Ayres, to contribute with all its power, to remove the obstacles occasioned by the divisions of the provinces, and existing from the beginning of the formation of the congress, and particularly in respect to the general affairs ; considering, also, that the other provinces, having approved its interposition in foreign affairs, will likewise approve the decision of the general congress, the government of Buenos Ayres accepts the office imposed upon it, by Article 7 of the funda-

mental law, persuaded that this measure will accelerate the moment of the installation of the executive power of the confederation, and because this same article determines with precision, the limits of the power with which the said law invests it.

The government of Buenos Ayres considers it a duty, to assure the general congress that it will exert all its efforts to merit the confidence reposed in it.

JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS HERAS.

MANOEL J. GARCIA.

To the General Constituent Congress.

The American Monitor.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF PRESIDENT BOLIVAR.

Quelle tête en Europe s'élève eux au dessus de celle de Bolivar? qui a jugé, combattu, et parlé mieux que lui?—DE PRADT.

The man whose course we are now about to trace, is the child and the champion of that glorious revolution, which will give a new character, and a new impulse to the whole moral world. Bolivar is almost a personification of the American revolution; his name is engraved on every page of the history of this great struggle between barbarism and civilization; and his fortune henceforth inseparable from that noblest of human conceptions, republican form of government, gravitates towards liberty with as much certainty as our globe gravitates towards the sun.

The biography of General Bolivar must, therefore, excite the most intense and universal interest and curiosity; it promises to present a picture of an epoch which may, and indeed must, change the condition and aspect of both hemispheres; it must necessarily comprize a narrative of a long and bloody war, exhibiting prodigies of glory, of constancy, of success, and of disasters; a war in which the magnitude of the calamities is only equalled, by the magnitude of the consequences, immediate or remote, which must

of necessity result from them,—the enfranchisement of the world.

Is there one of our readers, is there one among the friends of humanity, who does not ardently wish to obtain a perfect knowledge of the history of that tutelary genius to which providence has entrusted the work of American regeneration? the greatness of the expectation, the intensity of the interest excited by such a subject, are, however, alarming considerations to the writer who attempts to satisfy them, particularly after the passionate exaggerations, and falsehoods already published on this memorable subject. The field he has to traverse, the character he has to describe, are without a parallel in the old world. America and Europe, Bolivar and the leaders of the various revolutions we have witnessed, differ so completely from each other, that they cannot be estimated by the same standard. There is, consequently, great danger of alarming the pride and exciting the murmurs of cotemporaries, of wounding partialities merited by glorious exertions, if we raise the American warrior to a level with the most illustrious names of our hemisphere. But if the reputation of a general ought to be estimated less by the magnitude of the armies he has led, less by the quantity of blood he has caused to flow, than by the force of the obstacles he has overcome, the purity of the motives by which he has been actuated, and the importance of the services, he has rendered to humanity, Bolivar needs not wait for the impartial judgment of posterity: minds of any capacity or elevation will not, even now, refuse this great man that justice which he will inevitably receive from future ages. We, who write under

No other influence, than that of the love of truth, shall neither seek to exaggerate his merits nor his faults; we shall paint him such as we believe him to be, such as he has appeared to a competent witness, an illustrious statesman, who has been so placed in the centre of operations, as to derive all his knowledge either from immediate observation, from authentic reports, or from confidential communications. Our readers will, moreover, be satisfied with the fulfilment of our task, if we present them with a faithful record of the actions of Bolivar: to this, then, we shall confine ourselves, abstaining as much as possible from all reflexions; and leaving to them the comment and the inferences which facts so interesting cannot fail to suggest.

Don Simon Bolivar was born in the city of Caracas, in the year 1785, of Don Juan Vicente Bolivar, and Donna Conception Palacio. The noble origin of the family of Bolivar,—an accident which our hero can well afford to disregard,—is authenticated in the history of Oviedo and Banos, as one of the most illustrious in Venezuela, and by the circumstance of one of the ancestors of Bolivar being chosen, in the year 1589, to represent that province as procurador-general, at the court of Madrid. Bolivar was very young when death deprived him of his father and mother. Don Feliciano Palacio, his maternal uncle, was intrusted with the guardianship of the orphan, and with the administration of an immense fortune which his parents had bequeathed to him. Tenderly beloved by his uncle, the young Bolivar received from his paternal care, the best education which America could, then, afford to a child

of his rank. The first years of his life, were devoted to the elements of the mathematical sciences, to history, geography, and the humanities. His early studies were not marked by any striking progress, except in history which appeared to absorb all his attention. It was, however, neither from want of energy nor from a love of the amusements of his age, that young Bolivar neglected the study of literature, and the fine arts. On the contrary, he was indifferent to all the sports and pleasures of childhood, and, constantly absorbed in reflexion, he exhibited a maturity, the grave and melancholy cast of which was singularly contrasted with his youthful appearance. "I know not what is the reason," said his uncle, one day, to a person to whom we are indebted for this information, "but that child is not happy, it seems as if the air of his native country was too heavy for him; and oppressed his soul." Prophetic words, which revealed that loftiness of spirit, and that innate love of liberty, which already agitated the childhood of Bolivar, and promised the world one of the most illustrious defenders of the independence of nations!

Bolivar soon obtained from the Spanish government, the permission so rarely granted, to proceed to Europe for the completion of his studies. Several of his biographers have given currency to the erroneous report that, after having visited the various states of Europe, he returned to Madrid, where he married a young Spanish lady, who was snatched from him by a premature death, after which he returned to his country and began his political career. This mistatement inverts the true order of events. Bolivar, on leaving Caraccas for the first time, visited Mexico and the Havannah,

at which place he embarked for Spain. On his arrival at Madrid he applied himself with considerable ardour to the completion of his education. The study of the useful sciences, and, above all, the minute examination of the details of that remorseless government, which, at so great a distance, exercised an iron sway over his unhappy country, occupied his whole time and attention, when a new passion suddenly took possession of every faculty of his soul. A young Spanish lady of noble birth and extraordinary beauty, made a deep impression upon that heart which had hitherto beat for glory and liberty alone; she was the daughter of the Marquis d'Ustaris, a countryman of Bolivar and a brother of the Marquis del Toro. Bolivar loved her to idolatry; he obtained her hand, and hastened to enjoy his happiness in his native land. But alas! a blow as sudden as terrible awaited him; a fever of a few days swept off the friend and companion to whom he hoped to consecrate his whole future life. To a young man of twenty-two under the influence of the most pure and ardent passion, such a loss is overwhelming, incalculable. Bolivar was stunned, heart-broken, but his courage did not forsake him. No new ties could replace those which fate had broken; the love of his country took entire possession of a heart closed against all other attachments, and that passion for liberty which he seemed to inherit from nature, acquired new force and activity from his private calamity. He set out a second time for Europe, and visited successively Spain, France, Italy, England, and a great part of Germany. During his residence at Paris, he was particularly assiduous in his endeavours to acquire all the knowledge requisite for the war-

rior and the statesman; he formed connections useful to him in the prosecution of his enquiries; he became the friend of Humboldt and of Bonpland, from whom he imbibed profound and enlightened views on political economy and internal administration. He also acquired a decided taste for the study of languages and history, in both of which he is said to have made very rapid progress. His agreeable manners, the slight tinge of melancholy which characterized his whole appearance, and the advantage of a cultivated mind, rendered Bolivar an object of general interest in society; but in the midst of the attentions and pleasures by which he was surrounded, his ardent imagination was intensely fixed on his long cherished project; the restoring his country to independence. Active, temperate, frugal, devoting the night to labour when ever a part of the day had been passed in pleasure, the saviour of America silently formed himself for the awful work of the destruction of Spanish power in America. The coronation of Napoleon Buonaparte as emperor of France, at which Bolivar was present, appeared to him to threaten an approaching revolution in the political affairs of Europe, the consequences of which must necessarily extend to America. Under the influence of this vague presentiment, he set out for Spain, when, having learnt, at Bourdeaux, that General Miranda was in the United States, forming an expedition for the deliverance of his country from the Spanish yoke, he hastened to share the perils of this glorious enterprize, and to place himself under the banners of the independent chief. He arrived too late; the expedition had sailed when he reached the United States, and, in a few days, he heard that it had failed in its at-

tempt. As, however, the real object of his voyage to the United States, had escaped the inquisitorial eye of the Spanish police, he was at liberty to return to South America. This he accordingly did, just at the moment when the successes of Madrid and of Bayonne, the abdication of Ferdinand and of Charles, and the occupation of the Peninsula by French troops, occasioned the first interruption of the customary relations between the metropolis of Spain and her colonies, and caused the general insurrection of the new world.

The noble conduct of these generous colonists towards their ferocious oppressors, under circumstances of such extreme difficulty, is well known; their own liberty was not their first object, the resistance which their European brethren made to the colossal power which was striding on to crush them, appeared to them so noble, that they laid aside all resentment for the long vexations and injuries of the mother country; and, contrary to their own interests, engaged in the war of the Peninsula. For the maintenance of this war, they had already sent to Europe (in 1810) more than ninety millions of francs, whilst almost all the agents of the Spanish power in America, were held by selfishness and cupidity to acknowledge the most illegal of all governments, one imposed by force and rejected by the nation. In spite, however, of these demonstrations of attachment to the metropolis, when the colonists thought proper, in consequence of the uncertain and critical state of the Peninsula, to provide for their own security, and demanded that juntas, like those of Spain, might be formed,—the viceroys and captains-general, not only refused to accede to their petition, but threw the petitioners into prison. This was principally the

case in the province of Venezuela. Upon this, some of the American provinces determined to establish separate governments. The district of la Paz in the audiencia of Charcas, viceroyalty of Peru, first set the example to the other Spanish settlements. The insurrection was opposed by the viceroys of Peru, and of Buenos Ayres; the insurgents were conquered by general Goyeneche, and were put to death in the most ignominious and horrible manner. Quito, one of the cities of the province of Santa-Fé de Bogota, in the kingdom of New Grenada, imitated La Paz, and a junta was soon established at Santa-Fé, in support of the principle adopted by the city of Quito. The viceroys of New Granada and of Peru, marched their troops on the birth place of the insurrection; a great number of the patriots were arrested, and, on the second of August 1810, they were all massacred in prison. Quito was given up to the troops of Lima for pillage. These atrocities produced an effect totally opposite to that which the authors of them intended. A general feeling of desperation took possession of the whole Spanish colonies. At Caraccas, the municipal body, together with some individuals chosen by the people, deposed the Spanish governor and his agents, and assumed the reins of the general administration of the province, under the name of Junta of Government.

At this point, we may fix the commencement of the political career of Bolivar, then in his twenty-fourth year. The insurrection which had just broken out appeared to him to be the dawn of the revolution which was to shed light and liberty upon his country. To this he solemnly devoted his fortune and his life.

The junta named a commission composed of Don Luis Lopez Menes and of Bolivar, charged to proceed immediately to England, to establish communications with that country, and to solicit assistance in favour of the newly-established government.

It has been said that Bolivar disapproving of the conduct of the congress of Venezuela, would not undertake this mission, and that he even retired from public business. This error ought to be corrected. Bolivar did not refuse to serve his country; he went to England, but finding that the moment had not yet arrived for obtaining what he was employed to solicit, and that he was losing valuable time, he gave up the negotiation and resolved to serve the cause of independence with his sword. He returned to Caraccas: experience has proved the wisdom of this sudden resolution to which, indeed, the ultimate success of the patriotic cause, may almost be attributed. On his arrival in America, Bolivar did not perfectly, perhaps, approve of the conduct of the congress of Venezuela, which, like all constituent assemblies, was divided into two parties, holding opposite opinions; the one contending for independence, the other for reunion with the mother-country. He, therefore, remained, for some time, in a state of inaction, but his zeal in favour of liberty suffered no diminution. The congress declared the independence of Venezuela, on the 15th of July, 1811, in the midst of the conspiracies formed for its destruction. The Marquis del Toro was sent against the city of Valencia, thirty leagues from Caraccas, which the Spanish royalists had excited to revolt, to endeavour to form a new government, and to erect itself into an independent province.

This general succeeded in repulsing a small body of troops who opposed his passage. He was, however, speedily superseded in the command by General Miranda, celebrated in the history of the French revolution for his conduct at the battle of Nerwinde, in 1793, Bolivar immediately joined this general, under whom he made his first campaign, in defense of American liberty. Miranda carried the town of Valencia, but could not maintain himself there, in consequence of the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants; and, after losing a great many men, he was obliged to retreat to Mariana, four leagues from the town on the road to Caraccas. Valencia was, however, retaken and occupied by the independent army, about the end of the month of August. At this juncture, the congress, after long debates, presented to the nation, for its acceptance, a constitution, the principal basis of which were, the Roman Catholic religion declared the religion of the State; federative representation divided into two chambers; and the executive power delegated to three persons named by the electoral colleges. Public opinion was at this moment nearly unanimous in favour of the new order of things, and the government appeared to be flourishing, when a convulsion of nature suddenly overturned this state of prosperity, and the elements seconded the wishes of the enemies of independence. On the 26th of March, 1812, the eve of Good Friday, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, a tremendous earthquake overthrew the whole province of Venezuela, and, in one minute and fifteen seconds, twenty thousand unfortunate victims of this struggle of nature were swallowed up. The cities of Caraccas, Guayra, Merida, and San-Felippe were destroyed.

Barquesimeto, Valencia, Vittoria, were dreadfully damaged; arms, ammunitions of every kind, a whole regiment; then in the barracks of San Carlos, were buried under the ruins; and, as a celebrated writer observes, "All the calamities experienced in the great catastrophes of Lisbon, Messina, Lima, and Riobamba, were renewed on the fatal day of the 26th of March, 1812.*" By an unfortunate coincidence, the day of this great calamity, was the anniversary of the breaking out of the insurrection. This was a circumstance of which fanaticism was sure to avail itself. The priests whose privileges were abridged by a constitution founded on democratical principles, and who ardently desired the re-establishment of the old order of things, eagerly seized on the opportunity of representing this event, as a manifestation of divine wrath. These insinuations subjugated the minds of a credulous populace, who were terrified at a calamity of whose nature and physical causes, they were wholly ignorant; and divisions arose amongst the independents. Meanwhile, General Monteverde taking advantage of these unfortunate circumstances, attacked them and obtained several important advantages. He marched from Carora, of which he had taken possession, to Barquesimento where he entered without resistance. The city of Aurora, in which a part of the

* We cannot resist our inclination to present our readers with the Baron de Humboldt's beautiful and affecting description of this event:—

"Not a single drop of rain had fallen at Caraccas, nor in the country ninety leagues round, during five months preceding the

republican army was stationed, but refused to fight, opened its gates to him, and, his army having received considerable addition from the inhabitants of the country through which he marched, he proceeded to

destruction of the capital. The 26th of March was a remarkably hot day. The air was calm, and the sky unclouded. It was Holy Thursday, and a great part of the population was assembled in the churches. Nothing seemed to presage the calamities of the day. At seven minutes after four in the afternoon, the first shock was felt: it was sufficiently powerful to make the bells of the churches toll; it lasted five or six seconds, during which the ground was in a continual undulating movement, and seemed to heave up like a boiling liquid. The danger was thought to have passed, when a tremendous subterraneous noise was heard, resembling the rolling of thunder, but louder, and of longer continuance than that heard within the tropics in time of storms. This noise preceded a perpendicular motion of three or four seconds, followed by an undulatory movement somewhat longer. The shocks were in opposite directions, from north to south, and from east to west. Nothing could resist the movement from beneath upward, and the undulations crossing each other. The town of Caraccas was entirely overthrown. Thousands of the inhabitants (between nine and ten thousand) were buried under the ruins of the houses and churches. The procession had not yet set out; but the crowd was so great in the churches, that nearly three or four thousand persons were crushed by the fall of their vaulted roofs. The explosion was stronger towards the north, in that part of the town situate nearest the mountain of Aiola and the Silla. The churches of La Trinidad and Alta Gracia, which were more than one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, left a mass of ruins scarcely exceeding five or six feet in elevation. The sinking of the ruins has been so considerable, that there now scarcely remain any vestiges of pillars or columns. The barracks, called

attack the city of San-Carlos, defended by the independent general Carabano who made some resistance, but at length was compelled to surrender, by the desertion of his cavalry.

El Cuartel de San Carlos, situate further north of the church of the Trinity, on the road from the custom-house de la Pastora, almost entirely disappeared. A regiment of troops of the line, that was assembled under arms, ready to join the procession, was, with the exception of a few men, buried under the ruins of this great edifice. Nine tenths of the fine town of Caraccas were entirely destroyed. The walls of the houses that were not thrown down, as those of the street San Juan, near the Capuchin hospital, were cracked in such a manner that it was impossible to run the risk of inhabiting them. The effects of the earthquake were somewhat less violent in the western and southern parts of the city, between the principal square and the ravine of Caraquata. There the cathedral, supported by enormous buttresses, remains standing.

“Estimating at nine or ten thousand the number of the dead in the city of Caraccas, we do not include those unhappy persons who, dangerously wounded, perished several months afterwards, for want of food and proper care, the night of Holy Thursday presented the most distressing scene of desolation and sorrow. That thick cloud of dust, which, rising above the ruins, darkened the sky like a fog, had settled on the ground. No shock was felt, and never was a night more calm or more serene. The moon, nearly full, illumined the rounded dooms of the Silla, and the aspect of the sky formed a perfect contrast to that of the earth, covered with the dead and heaped with ruins. Mothers were seen bearing in their arms their children, whom they hoped to recall to life. Desolate families wandered through the city, seeking a brother, a husband, a friend, of whose fate they were ignorant, and whom they believed to be lost in the crowd. The people pressed

Monteverde then marched against the district of Varinas, the most abundant in provisions and in cattle.

Thus, the fate of America was to be decided, for the second time, by the blindest superstition. Our readers will remember that an eruption of Cotopazi, in 1553, coinciding with the landing of the Spaniards, struck the Indians, with terror, and that the conquest of Quito was the consequence of this convulsion of nature.

The patriotism of Bolivar became exalted at the sight of the dangers which threatened his country: his immense fortune, his slaves, his jewels, his credit, were sacrificed to the common weal. But his first attempts

along the streets, which could no more be recognized but by long lines of ruins....

"The wounded, buried under the ruins, implored by their cries the help of the passers by, and nearly two thousand were dug out. Never was pity displayed in a more affecting manner; never had it been seen more ingeniously active than in the efforts employed to save the miserable victims, whose groans reached the ear. Implements for digging and clearing away the ruins were entirely wanting; and the people were obliged to use their bare hands to disinter the living. The wounded, as well as the sick who had escaped from the hospitals, were laid on the banks of the small river Guayra; they found no shelter but the foliage of trees. Beds, linen to dress the wounds, instruments of surgery, medicines, and objects of the most urgent necessity, were buried under the ruins. Every thing, even food, was wanting during the first days. Water became alike scarce in the interior of the city. The commotion had rent the pipes of the fountains; the falling in of the earth had choked up the springs that supplied them; and it became necessary, in order to have water, to go down to the river Guayra, which was considerably swelled; and then vessels, to convey the water were wanting," &c. &c.

were not crowned with success ; he had obtained, with the rank of colonel, the command of Puerto Cabello, where the royalist prisoners captured by the independents were confined. Those prisoners succeeded, by the aid of the officer on duty, in making themselves masters of the citadel, and forced Colonel Bolivar and his officers to evacuate the town by sea, in order to reach Guayra. This surprise struck a blow so much the more terrible to the independents, as it delivered up to their enemies a great quantity of ammunition, which they were quite destitute of; opened to them new and quicker communications with Coro and Porto Rico, and enabled them to receive by sea such reinforcements as they could not before obtain but by land, at the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues.

Far from being overwhelmed by this calamitous event, the courage and devotedness of Bolivar, who was destined to effect so much for his country, seemed to increase in proportion to its misfortune. In the meantime, Monteverde, having avoided the defile of Cabrera, where the Generalissimo Miranda had concentrated his forces to put a stop to the enemy's progress, had reached the walls of Caraccas, and threatened to complete the ruin of this devoted city, if it attempted to resist him. In this extremity, Miranda proposed a capitulation which was accepted; its terms were that the constitution of the Spanish Cortes should be established at Caraccas; that no one should be troubled on account of his political opinions; that all property should be respected, and that any one who chose it, was at liberty to quit the territory of Venezuela. On these conditions the royalist army en-

tered Caraccas, and that of the independents was immediately disbanded.

The articles of this capitulation were violated in the most scandalous manner, and Monteverde openly declared that he would exterminate the inhabitants of Venezuela, in order to strike terror into the rest of South America.

Miranda and many other patriots who had taken refuge at Guayra, with the intention of embarking for Carthagena, were seized and thrown into dungeons. Miranda died in the prisons of Cadiz.

Then, every royalist constituted himself a spy; every man suspected of attachment to independence, became a victim, and not only the prisons but also a number of private houses were overflowing with accused patriots. These atrocious proceedings, however, did not produce the effect which the royalists expected; on the contrary, they roused the courage of the independents, in the districts remote from Caraccas. Bolivar had escaped the tyranny of the ferocious Monteverde, not, as it has been represented in Europe, by obtaining from this general, with whom he is said to have been particularly acquainted, a passport to the island of Curaçao(*)—but by purchasing this passport from the secretary Iturbe. From Curaçao he went to Carthagena where the republican party still held out, for the purpose of obtaining from the government of New Granada the means of delivering his country from the Spanish yoke. The congress entrusted him with the command of a corps, not, as some writers have erroneously asserted, of six thousand but of one thousand men strong.

* Vide Annales Militaire.

From this period we may date the celebrity of Bolivar; from this period we shall find the great warrior and the enlightened statesman inseparably combined in his person. His genius suggested that, in order to serve his country, he must astonish her enemies; that he must supply the defect of numbers by prodigies of activity, and oppose a system of concentration of force to the contrary system of the Spanish generals. The strategical point of the campaign was to escalate the Andes with the greatest possible rapidity, in order to surprize the royalists of Cucuta, and to penetrate into the interior of Venezuela. To effect this difficult enterprize Bolivar suddenly marched at the head of his little army, in the direction of Tunja and Pamplona, and arrived at the frontiers of New Granada, on the banks of the Tachira, when the enemy believed him to be still on the other side of the Cordillera. Some royalist parties had gone in the direction of Ocano for the purpose of opposing his march. They were commanded by the Spanish general Correa and were very superior in numbers to the independent army. Bolivar totally defeated them, and penetrated into the territory of Venezuela. Reinforcements granted by the congress of New Granada, under the command of Rivas, joined him here. His troops now amounted to near six thousand effective men. With this army he surprized the royalists at Cucuta, routed them, and, by a rapid succession of victories, arrived before Caraccas, and compelled general Monteverde to take refuge in the fortress of Puerto Cabello.

Whilst Bolivar victor at Grita, occupied the department of Merida, one of his lieutenants, Colonel Nicholas Briceño, invaded the province of Barinas, at the head

of some troops of horse, which he had raised at Guadualito.

In the mean time, Briceno was, in his turn, beaten by the royalists, taken prisoner with seven of his officers, and ordered to be executed by Tiscar the royalist commander at Varinas. The Spaniards thus commenced against their own colonies, this horrible system of warfare which forced the independent generals who, until that time, had carried on hostilities with great moderation, to make use of the most dreadful reprisals which, however repugnant to humanity, seemed necessary to the safety of the patriot soldiers. From this period *guerra a muerte* was the motto of both parties. This rigorous this inexorable justice was not natural to Bolivar, and it is certain that he never put this dreadful threat in execution, except in one instance, when the numerous assassinations committed by the Spaniards, made it his painful duty to deliver up those in his power to the vengeance of the soldiery. Yet, though it was not surprising that Spain should defend by crime what she had acquired by crime, America ought not to have followed her example: innocent blood is always a stain upon the banner of liberty.

The army of Bolivar having considerably increased, he thought it adviseable to divide it in two bodies. He entrusted one of them to Rivas, and, as we have just stated, he marched himself at the head of the other, through the country of Truxilló and Barinas, upon the city of Caraccas, of which he took possession on the 4th of August, 1813, after several battles with the flower of Monteverde's troops.

Caraccas had surrendered in virtue of a capitulation. The independant troops were welcomed by its inha-

bitants, as their liberators. Bolivar proclaimed that no one should be persecuted for his political opinions; the prisons were thrown open, and all those who had survived a rigorous confinement, were restored to their families and friends, amidst the acclamations of a people intoxicated with joy. They loaded the conquerors with benedictions, but amidst the tumult no Spaniard was insulted. Monteverde refused to ratify the treaty, arrogantly alleging that it did not consist with the Spanish dignity to treat with rebels. Almost the whole of the territory of Venezuela, with the exception of Puerto Cabello, having raised the standard of liberty, Bolivar wished to take advantage of his success, for the purpose of lessening the miseries of war; he therefore proposed to Monteverde an exchange of prisoners. Although the numbers were by no means equal, Spanish pride was deaf to this generous proposal. Monteverde having shortly after received reinforcements from Spain, attacked the republicans near Agua Caliente. He was, however, defeated, wounded, and obliged to make a hasty retreat to Puerto Cabello, with the remains of his army, which he left in the hands of brigadier Salomon, whom he entrusted also with the command of the place. On this fresh success, Bolivar sent a priest, Salvador Garcia, to renew his overtures for the exchange of prisoners, to Salomon; but this ferocious Spaniard loaded this excellent man with irons and threw him into a dungeon. The royalist leaders seemed to rival each other in cruelty and barbarity. Isuela, a savage tiger, who shortly succeeded Salomon, amused himself by exposing the republican prisoners to the fire of the

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American batteries during the day; and, at night, he crowded them into the hulks where they died from suffocation.

Puerto Cabello vigorously attacked by land and sea, was not long in surrendering. The citadel alone remained in the hands of the Spaniards who rejected every proposal of capitulation, and showed a resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity. This gallant resistance determined Bolivar to avoid a destructive attack, and he contented himself with keeping the citadel closely blockaded.

During these events, General Cevallos at the head of the royalists of Coro, had attacked and defeated the republicans at Barquesimeto. Bolivar hastened to the assistance of the conquered, and, on the 15th of December, defeated the Spaniards at Vigirima, Barbula, and Aurara. The victory of Barbula cost him one of his bravest officers, the young Girardot, a Frenchman by birth who had distinguished himself by his extraordinary gallantry. Bolivar, who was sensible of the effect produced on the living by the honour paid to the dead, published an order of the day appointing an annual mourning throughout the army, in commemoration of this lamentable event; and, at his request, a pension was granted by the congress to the family of Girardot.

A battalion of the independent troops having behaved in a cowardly manner at the battle of Barquesimeto, Bolivar felt that he must either suffer a conduct subversive of all discipline to go unpunished, or run the risk of disgusting volunteers whom the requisite degree of severity might immediately detach from the standard of independence. However, he did

not hesitate; he disarmed this battalion and substituted pikes for their muskets. This determined course decided the character of his army, and it established that military point of honour which has since stimulated it to the performance of so many gallant and heroic actions. Such an act of authority bespoke a mind which might be calculated upon as immovable through all the hazards and vicissitudes of life. At the battle of Araura this same battalion rushed upon a battalion of the enemy, routed it, took its arms and, by its heroic conduct, effaced the stain which it had previously incurred.

The battle of Araura was one of those events on which the fate of empires frequently depends. It undoubtedly secured important military advantages to the patriot army, and greatly contributed to the ultimate triumph of independence; but out of these prosperous circumstances a storm seemed likely to arise, fatal to the cause of liberty. The enemies of Bolivar, and even some sincere patriots were jealous of his triumphs, and conceived considerable alarm at the growth of his influence. Bolivar had promised the congress of New Granada, at the time it granted him subsidies, that he would re-establish the congress and the civil power in the republic of Venezuela, notwithstanding which, at the end of the year 1813, that country was still under a military government.

The performance of this engagement was loudly demanded; but whether it was that Bolivar thought this measure dangerous and premature, or that he was for a moment seduced by the desire of supreme power, he refused to resign that dictatorship with which he had been invested, under circumstances of extreme difficulty and danger. This refusal aggravated the ge-

neral discontent, and a spirit of dissatisfaction extended itself even to his army. Bolivar, might possibly have deceived himself as to the real state of public opinion, but as he had employed his power solely for the common advantage, perceiving the alarm with which the continuation of this power was regarded by his countrymen, now, lost no time in convoking a general assembly composed of magistrates, dignitaries, ecclesiastics, superior officers of the army, &c. and, on the 2d of January, he resigned the supreme authority into their hands, after having rendered a scrupulous account of his operations, and of the plans he had adopted for the defence of his country. This proof of integrity and patriotism, did more to increase the ascendancy of Bolivar than an army of satellites. The assembly composed of the most decided and faithful patriots, restored him to that place in their confidence of which he was so fully worthy, and, on the suggestion of Don Hurtado de Mendosa, governor of Caraccas, they voted that the dictatorial power should be replaced in his hands, and should remain there until the Spaniards should be driven out, and Venezuela united to New Granada, under the same form of government.

We now come to one of those great political crimes for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of revolutions, and over which, for the honour of Spain, we would gladly draw a veil. The royalist generals seeing the superiority of their opponents, conceived the atrocious project of arming against them the blacks and all the most abandoned part of the population. Wretches of the most infamous character were secretly sent up the country, to excite the slaves to insurrection by the promise of liberty; and all

the criminals who had escaped from justice, all the men whom habits of idleness and the disorders of war, had scattered over the country, were industriously drawn together by the promise of pillage and of impunity for their crimes. Numerous bands of these ruffians were organized under the orders of four Spaniards whose lives were forfeit to the laws, and of a negro who had recently been condemned to death for robbery and murder.

These worthy instruments of Spanish tyranny, were Puy, Boves, Rosette, Janes, and Palomo. The three first, commissioned to carry fire and sword into the eastern part of the province of Caraccas, received arms and ammunition from the royalist governor of Angosturas; the two others, honoured with a similar mission towards the west of Caraccas, Ravinas, Merina and Truxillo, were armed by the royalists of Coro and Puerto Cabello. This horde of brigands and assassins thus let loose upon defenseless towns and villages, amounted to eight thousand. In an extent of four hundred miles, from the banks of the Oronoko to the neighbourhood of Caraccas, whoever refused to join them was massacred without mercy; not a human being was spared.

The imagination shrinks from the conception of the horrible atrocities committed by these monsters, particularly during the year 1813. On receiving the news of the victory gained by the independents at Aurura, the most sanguinary of these leaders, the execrable Puy, arrested five hundred and seventy four inhabitants; five hundred were shot without trial, and at the same moment; seventy-four owed their preservation to the sudden appearance of Bolivar; but, some days after-

wards, the royalist agent fell a second time upon this unfortunate town, and slaughtered the remainder of his victims. At the same time, Rosette put to the sword a part of the inhabitants of Ocumara, who vainly fled for refuge to the foot of their altars. In another place fifteen hundred Spanish prisoners, detained in the cities of Guayra and Caraccas, revolted against the republican government, and a great number of them having succeeded in making their escape, formed themselves into another band, between the two towns, and attacked and massacred all who were not strong enough to resist them. It was under these terrible circumstances, in this fearful extremity, that indignation and desire of vengeance combined with the necessity of providing for the safety of the men under his command, extorted from Bolivar a rigorous order which cost him the deepest regret: eight hundred Spanish prisoners, then in his power, were shot. At the news of this execution, the governor of Puerto Cabello immediately made reprisals, and put to death all the independant prisoners who were confined in the citadel. Far be it from us to attempt to justify the cruel determination of Bolivar, but however impossible it may be to justify it to the eyes of humanity, it is certainly palliated by the dreadful circumstances in which his army was placed, and redeemed by immediate subsequent acts of generosity and heroism. But Spain, if she had reconquered Venezuela, what would she have done with the eight thousand slaves she had armed? Would she have enfranchised them? Could she have again reduced them to subjection? . . . The mind revolts from the cold and

sanguinary counsels which must have guided the conduct of Spain, in this conjuncture.

The war now raged with fury in every direction. Bolivar whose forces were numerically inferior to those of his adversaries, defeated, by the superiority of his manœuvres and almost at the same time, Boves at Vittoria, Rosette on the banks of the Tuy, and Janes at Ospinós, on which occasion the royalist commander was killed. These victories were not gained without great expense of lives; Bolivar lost the third of his soldiers on the field of battle.

Boves and Rosette rallied their forces, and having received considerable reinforcements, renewed offensive operations, and marched a second time upon Caraccas. But Bolivar waited for them at St. Mateo, and defeated them with a very inferior force. On this occasion, an act of self devotion worthy of the brightest periods of history, shed glory on the independent cause. A young officer who belonged to one of the first families of Santa Fé, named Ricante, was entrusted with the care of the powder magazine of the place. The battle was fought at some distance. One of the royalist commanders saw the weakness of the garrison which defended this post, and immediately resolved to endeavour to take it; he therefore marched upon it at the head of a considerable detachment. Ricante perceiving that all resistance was vain, dispatched the soldiers under his command to reinforce the troops of Bolivar, telling them that he had means of defending the magazine, if the enemy should attack it. The royalists entered the fort which they thought evacuated, they perceived Ricante and endeavoured to seize him, but it was too late, the heroic young man had fired the powder and buried

himself, together with all the Spaniards, under the ruins of the fortress.

At the first intelligence of the dangers which threatened Caraccas, generals Montillo and Marino had joined the corps of Bolivar who, with this reinforcement, drove the royalists out of Boccachica; raised the siege of the city of Valencia which was invested by the Spanish generals Cevallos and Calzadas; formed a junction with Urdaneta, and concentrated his forces in the plains of Calobozo. On the 28th of May 1814, he came in sight of the brave Spanish general Cagigal who had also united, in this position, all the troops which were scattered about the country. The engagement of the 28th of May 1814, was one of the most memorable in the war of independence. The two armies remained for some time in a posture of observation, as desirous of ascertaining each others strength. The obstacles to be surmounted on either side were numerous. The republican army was youthful, intrepid and victorious, but harassed by fatigue, ill-armed, liable to discouragement, and opposed to an enemy numerous, warlike, and possessing all the advantages of regular discipline. The republican cavalry was defective in numbers and in experience, and mounted upon nearly wild horses; that of the royalists, on the contrary, was superior in numbers, better disciplined, and composed of old soldiers. The infantry was pretty nearly equal; the Spanish army had the advantage as to position; that of the independents was bad and dangerous. Both armies were commanded by brave men equally bent upon conquest, equally conscious that this day must decide the cause they defended. But the high military reputation

of Cagigal inspired his soldiers with a confidence which those of his antagonist did not, perhaps, possess. Bolivar felt that these difficulties could only be overcome by opposing undaunted bravery to military science. "Comrades," exclaimed he to his soldiers, "we have neither time nor cartridges to throw away, let us attack the enemy with the bayonet; they hesitate, and victory is ours." These words pronounced in a firm voice by their youthful leader produced an electrical effect on the soldiers. At this moment the enemy commenced a movement on the right the republicans took advantage of this movement to rush upon their centre. The combat now became furious and gave occasion to the display of the most intrepid valour. By the side of Bolivar were Urdaneta, Marións, Montillo, rivals in bravery and self-devotion; Bolivar ordered one of his columns to turn the left of the enemy, but this division being attacked in flank by the Spanish cavalry, stopped and hesitated for a moment; Bolivar flew to them. "Americans," cried he, "have you forgotten that this day must decide the liberty of your country?" At this moment the combat was renewed with increased fury; this same column drove back the cavalry by which it was opposed, made several very successful charges with the bayonet, and, after a long and sanguinary contest, decided the fortune of the day. The Spanish line was broken, and the whole army completely routed. They threw down their arms, and retreated in the utmost confusion, leaving the greater part of their ammunition, five hundred dead, and a great number of wounded and prisoners on the field, together with their cannon and colours. This battle

restored almost the whole district of Venezuela to the independent power.

These repeated triumphs led Bolivar into an error which has been often fatal to the greatest commanders; he attempted to pursue the Spaniards in every direction, and to take possession of the districts from which they drew their resources. For this purpose he divided his troops into three bodies, the one of which under the orders of Urdaneta, marched upon Coro; the other commanded by Marino, was stationed in the province of Varinas; and the third, under the immediate command of the general-in-chief, marched against Boves who had not arrived in time to take part in the battle of Calobozo. By these movements the three divisions of the republican army were soon widely separated, and Bolivar's little corps met the enemy in the plains of Cura, where the Spanish cavalry could take advantage of their superiority. After an obstinate combat of many hours, during which Bolivar contested the ground by inches with a very inferior force, he was compelled to abandon the field of battle, and to commence an offensive retreat which he effected in the utmost order, in the face of a numerous and victorious enemy. Nevertheless, disasters succeeded each other with rapidity. The victory of Boves restored the courage of the royalists. That general hastened to unite his forces with those of generals Cagigal and Calzadas, and marched against the division of Marino, who had been reduced, by the inferiority of his numbers, to shut himself up in Cumana. Urdaneta, who was already at too great a distance to attempt to join Bolivar, threw himself with his division on the frontiers of the province of Santa Fé, in the di-

rection of Cucuta, and the general-in-chief, thus cut off from the greater part of his army, found himself too weak to protect Caraccas against the attacks of the enemy. These reverses were followed by consequences still more disastrous. Distrust and misunderstanding, the offsprings of misfortune, arose amidst the patriots. The military government of Bolivar, and the arbitrary conduct of one of his generals, Don Campo Elias, who had ordered some of his prisoners to be shot, served a second time as a pretext for the inhabitants of the towns and villages, to declare themselves in favour of the royalists. A great many without taking any decided part, saw with indifference the reverses of the defenders of liberty, in whom they feared or affected to fear a new set of oppressors. This state of the public mind rendered it impossible for the republican army to repair its losses. The siege of Puerto Cabello was raised, and Bolivar unable any longer to defend the province of Caraccas, was obliged to embark the remains of his army for Cumana, whither he himself proceeded by land, accompanied by a great number of the inhabitants of Caraccas. This movement left Valencia, Caraccas and Guayra without defence. Boves took possession of the two former, without resistance; Valencia alone held out for some time, but at length accepted the capitulation he offered it.

The republican officers had demanded that a solemn mass should be celebrated in presence of both parties, and that at the moment of the elevation of the host, Boves should take an oath to fulfil religiously all the articles of the treaty. To this Boves agreed without hesitation; he invoked the Almighty to witness his en-

gagement, and in a few hours after this horrible blasphemy, all the officers and the greater number of the soldiers of the republican army were put to death.

This succession of disasters did not discourage Bolivar. Standing like a column amid ruins, he still opposed resistance to the waves which threatened to desolate his country; he quitted Cumana, repaired to the province of Barcelona, levied a small body of troops, and resumed defensive operations. But fortune did not second his heroic exertions, and, after having done during this short campaign all that genius and intrepidity could inspire, he was at length overpowered by numbers at the battle of Araquita. The desertion of a part of his troops, and the insubordination of the commander of his flotilla, (who refused to second his operations) having now rendered it impossible for him to recover his former advantages, he embarked for Carthagena, and a second time solicited the assistance of New Granada for his country.

While Bolivar was thus occupied, Rivas and Bermudez maintained themselves in the town of Mathurin, where all those who were resolved not to submit to the Spanish yoke, and those who had nothing to expect from the royalists but death, rallied around them. Boves and Morales made several unsuccessful attempts to destroy these remains of the republican army; but having at length received considerable reinforcements, they obtained a victory at Urica, on the 5th of December 1814, and entered the city of Mathurin. The celebrated Boves fell in this engagement, and the royalists paid fit honours to the manes of this barbarian, by the sacrifice of the brave General Rivas whom the fortune of war had placed in their power. The head

of this illustrious patriot was sent in triumph to Caraccas and exposed in the principal square of the city. Bermudez succeeded in escaping to the island of Margarita, where he kept alive the republican party until the arrival of the Spanish General Morillo.

Bolivar had proceeded from Carthagena to Tunja, where the congress of New Granada was then sitting. By this assembly he was immediately nominated captain-general of the province, and entrusted with the command of a body of troops destined to deliver the city of Santa Fé de Bogota which still groaned under the Spanish yoke, and to reduce the little province of Santa Martha, which refused to recognize the authority of the new government. Bolivar took Santa Fé de Bogota, but failed in his attempt upon Santa Martha, through the jealousy of Don M. Castillo governor of Carthagena, who refused to send him the contingent of arms and men which, according to the orders of the congress, that city was bound to furnish. Bolivar incensed at this treatment, advanced upon Carthagena in order to compel Castillo to obey the government; and the royalists profiting by this disunion, took possession of Monpox, a town situated on the river Magdalena, and of some other undefended places. At this juncture, the news of the expedition of Morillo arrived at Carthagena. Bolivar instantly abjured all personal resentment and every feeling but that of devotion to his country; he united his troops to those of the garrison, and proceeded himself to Jamaica for the purpose of forming an expedition to relieve Carthagena.

We must here take a review of the circumstances which accompanied the expedition of Morillo, since, henceforward, this distinguished leader, already well

known in Europe, is the formidable antagonist against whom the young American will have to measure his strength as a warrior and a statesman. On the restoration of the king of Spain to his throne by the great political events of 1814, this prince thought it would be easy to reduce to their former subjection his American colonies, the ostensible motive of whose insurrection had been his captivity in France. An expedition was accordingly fitted out at Cadiz in the early part of the year 1815. Ten thousand of those men who had fought gloriously for the independence of Spain, were sent to rivet the chains of America. The king appointed as their leader Morillo, a soldier of fortune who owed his advancement to the gallantry he had displayed in the war of the Peninsula. Fifty transports under convoy of four frigates appeared off the coast of Venezuela, in the month of May 1815. Morillo's first care was to throw about two thousand men into the towns on the sea shore, and to draw from Caraccas a part of the royalist troops collected there. Having organized his army, he quitted Puerto-Cabello, where he had disembarked, to go and besiege Carthagena. This was the moment at which Bolivar, as we have already mentioned, went to Jamaica, in the hope of collecting a force capable of raising the siege of that town. His efforts were, however, paralyzed by want of money; and succour, as we shall shortly find, did not arrive till after the surrender of the town, which took place on the 6th of October 1815, after a most heroic defence.

The cause of independence now appeared irrecoverably lost; the progress of the Spaniards was frightfully rapid; the island of Margarita fell into their hands; on

all points they obtained the most signal advantages, and the total subjection of New Granada seemed inevitable.

But in this unchecked prosperity lurked that principle of ruin, which the Americans had not long ago, found but too closely consequent upon success. The hard and arrogant character of Morillo inspired universal terror into all the countries he had subdued; while his generals intoxicated with success, renewed the dreadful scenes of the times of Cortez, Pizarro, Alvarado, Pedrarias and Valdivia. Their atrocities exasperated the people, and disgusted even those Americans who had taken part with the royalists. Discord found its way into the Spanish army, and the few republicans who had not submitted after the defeat of Urica, formed guerilla bands under the orders of Monagaz, Piar, Roxaz, Saraza and Llanos; all the patriots united with determined zeal against the common enemy; war broke out with more fury than ever, and, after many glorious struggles, Arismendi recaptured the island of Margarita.

An atrocious attempt proved, at this time, the atrocity and perfidy of the royalists. While Bolivar was at Cayes, a small town in the southern part of St. Domingo, occupied in organizing an expedition for the relief of his country, some Spaniards of Lima bribed a negro named Pio, one of his slaves to whom he had given liberty. This wretched being, was to murder, in the hours of silence and darkness, that illustrious man whom tyranny could not bend, nor danger deter; but providence decreed that on that night Bolivar's bed was occupied by his secretary who suffered under the dagger of the deceived assassin. Pio was seized with the bloody poniard in his hand, and named his accomplices who, having fled in the

night, escaped the punishment inflicted on their agent. Bolivar, more afflicted by the loss of his unfortunate secretary and friend, than moved by the danger which had so imminently threatened his own life, exclaimed: "The Spaniards by their crimes, hasten the accomplishment of our independence, the certainty of this is a consolation under my present heart-rending affliction."

By the indefatigable activity of Bolivar and the liberality of some wealthy colonists who had taken refuge at Cayes, the preparations for the expedition were at length completed. It consisted of a squadron of two ships of war, and thirteen transports under the orders of the intrepid Brion*; of a few refugees, and two battalions of black troops sent as auxiliaries from Port au Prince by the President Petion. At the head of this little army of about a thousand men, Bolivar set sail from Cayes for Margarita, at the end of March 1816. The destination of the expedition remained a secret with Bolivar and Brion. The flotilla was detained for some time by contrary winds on the coast of St. Domingo, in sight of several Spanish vessels, but the wind having changed it set sail for its secret destination. It proceeded without any obstacle for a fortnight, when a signal was suddenly made that a fleet was in sight. After an anxious interval of observations, the Spanish flag was descried, and nothing remained but to fight and to conquer. Bolivar gave orders to steer towards the enemy's ships and to board them. In vain did some naval officers unquietly remark the superiority of the Spanish vessels, and even propose to

* Brion had, as it is well known, sacrificed his immense fortune to pay the expense of this armament.

tack. "That manœuvre," replied Bolivar, with his usual unostentatious courage, "would take us back to St. Domingo, and that is not the place to which we want to go; besides heaven favours us; we shall arrive safe in spite of the Spaniards." The brave Brion ordered the preparations for an action; his little vessels bore down upon the great ships of the enemy, attacked and boarded them. Their decks soon became a scene of the most frightful carnage. Never was there an example of more impetuous bravery. They fought man to man, and the Spaniards were slaughtered on their guns, or precipitated into the waves. The intrepid Brion was wounded, and fought on. The obstinate resistance on the one side, at length gave way before the efforts of the most reckless valour on the other. The independent flag was soon flying on the Spanish ships captured in this memorable action, during which the republican admiral gave promise of those qualities, and of those successes as a naval commander, which afterwards distinguished his services in the cause of liberty. Not a single Spaniard survived this defeat; they all fell with arms in their hands, or threw themselves into the sea. Shortly after this victory the towers of Margarita and the steeples of Carupano shewed the little independent army the end of their voyage.

The arrival of this reinforcement at Margarita, obliged the Spaniards to shut themselves up in the little fortress of Pampatar, the only point of the island which remained in their power. A small detachment of the republican army was left to blockade it; the fleet set sail again, and Bolivar landed at Curapano, five leagues from Cumana, from which he drove out the royalists. Several corps of guerillas

had advanced to the coast, at the news of the arrival of the fleet. Bolivar organized them, and embarked with this reinforcement to attack Ocumara; he landed his advanced guard at the port of Choroni, ordering Sir Gregor Mac Gregor,* who commanded it, to proceed towards Vittoria, and to take possession of Maracay, and of Cabrera, which that officer effected. Bolivar then marched, with the rest of his little army, upon Ocumara, where he experienced the first reverse of this campaign.

Those recent events had, however, thrown all minds into confusion, and the people of Venezuela no longer knew under what banner liberty was to be found, nor what they had to hope or to fear from the return of Bolivar, and from the bloody conflict which was now renewed. The republican general felt that it was necessary to fix public opinion before entering on any hazardous enterprises; he, therefore, determined to give a decided character to the present state of things, by a solemn profession of political faith, and by the announcement of a civil government to the enfranchised nation. For this purpose he published a mani-

* This officer, who is a native of Scotland, had served in the English army in Portugal, with the rank of captain. In consequence of some disagreement with his lieutenant colonel, he embarked for America in 1811, and offered his services to the new government of Caraccas. He proceeded to Carthagena after the capitulation of Miranda, and from that time up to the moment of which we are speaking, he was constantly engaged in the independent cause. He acquired great celebrity in the early campaigns of Venezuela. Our readers know by what a singular series of events

fiesto, in which he explained all the reasons of his past conduct, and explicitly declared his present intentions. "An army furnished with artillery," said he, "with ammunition, with arms of every kind, is advancing under my orders to effect your deliverance. Your tyrants will soon be destroyed or expelled. I shall soon restore to you your rights, your country, and peace. The war of extermination, (*guerra a muerte*) which our enemies wage against us, has ceased, on our side. We shall pardon those who submit to our arms, even though they be Spaniards; and those who serve the cause of Venezuela shall be regarded as friends, and employed according to their merit and their ability. The troops in the service of the enemy who may come over to us, shall receive every reward the country can bestow upon her benefactors. No Spaniard shall be put to death, except in actual combat. No American shall suffer the slightest injury for having taken part with the royalists, or for having committed acts of hostility against his fellow citizens. That unhappy class of our brethren which has hitherto suffered all the miseries of slavery, is now declared free: nature, justice, and policy, equally demand the emancipation of the negroes. Henceforth, there will be but one class of people in Venezuela; all will

this officer has since raised himself to the real or fictitious dignity of *cacique* of the Poyais. It is said that he is now endeavouring to colonize his pretended dominions with Frenchmen. May heaven preserve them from the fate of his unfortunate countrymen, who deluded by fallacious promises met, some years ago, with so dreadful a death, in those desert and unwholesome regions.

be citizens. As soon as we have taken possession of the capital, we shall convöke the national representation in a general congress, for the purpose of establishing a republican government," &c.

This wise proclamation, which appeared so well calculated to excite and fortify the ardour and patriotism of his country men, alarmed the cupidity of those very men whom Bolivar came to rescue from tyranny. It is not easy to introduce liberty among people who have been long sunk into the monotonous repose of slavery; and, to use the words of Rousseau, "there is little room for the love of country in a heart already divided between avarice and vanity," and such were, indeed, the predominant vices which the Spaniards had transplanted into their colonies. In vain did General Bolivar set the example by enfranchising his numerous slaves, and placing them as volunteers under the independent standard. The inhabitants of Venezuela, far from being excited to an imitation of this noble act, were jealous and offended at it. They feared the loss of a part of their property more than the haughty and ignominious treatment they received from the Spaniards, and thus, through the basest selfishness, they became the enemies of their own real interests. This defection was fatal to Bolivar's plans. Believing himself sure of the co-operation of his fellow citizens, he had weakened his army, by detaching general Mac Gregor with a considerable part of it. In this state of things Morales, who had been dispatched by Morillo, to oppose the progress of the independent army, came up with Bolivar and attacked him with a force quadruple that of the Americans. An obstinate and sanguinary engagement took place, and, notwithstanding the pro-

digious inequality of force, the republicans long disputed the ground with the utmost fury. But, being at length overpowered by numbers, Bolivar was obliged to retreat in disorder, after losing his best officers. The two battalions of Haytians protected the retreat of their bretheren in arms, with great bravery; but the American soldiers who escaped from the Spaniards, found death were they sought refuge; they were mercilessly poniarded by the natives of the country.

Mac Gregor, thus abandoned on the continent and unable to resist the enemy's forces, endeavoured to reach the city of Barcelona, by the plains. But the conquerors of Bolivar had immediately set out in pursuit of his lieutenant, who was still at an immense distance from the place where he hoped to obtain assistance. Nevertheless, his firmness did not forsake him; he determined to force a passage sword in hand; he met Morales near Alacron, repulsed him with loss, and shortly after obtained a complete victory over him at Juncal, where the independents displayed astonishing valour. Mac-Gregor pursued his march towards Barcelona, which he entered in the beginning of October 1816, and soon opened a line of communication with Generals Marino, Piar and Hozaz, who were in the direction of Cumana, and with Arismendi whom the evacuation of Pampator by the Spaniards, had enabled to join the independents, at Barcelona.

Bolivar, who had returned to Cayes to recruit his army after the defeat of Ocumana, now renewed offensive operations. He arrived at Margarita in December, and immediately issued a proclamation convoking the deputies of the provinces of Venezuela, in

general congress; he then repaired to Barcelona, where he established a provisional government until congress should meet and should decide on its future form.

Shortly after, Morillo appeared before Barcelona, with four thousand veteran soldiers supported by all his naval force. On the 15th of February, a sanguinary conflict commenced, in which the Spaniards had the advantage; on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, Bolivar renewed the struggle, attacked the enemy with fury, and carried his entrenched camp by main force, but he was too much weakened by the losses he had sustained, to pursue the enemy. In his retreat Morillo encountered general Paëz by whom he was again beaten, in the plains of Banco-Largo. At the same time, the republicans obtained fresh advantage under general Piar, in the district of Corona, and, in that of Cayara, under general Zarara who, by training wild horses, had succeeded in forming a corps of cavalry which afterwards rendered the most important services to the patriot cause.

About the end of the year 1817, Bolivar was nominated supreme chief of Venezuela, and fixed his headquarters at Angostura, for the greater convenience of directing civil affairs. Being, however, eager to extend his conquests, and feeling the necessity of uniting to the main army some of the divisions which were acting separately, he resolved to make an expedition into the interior. On the 31st of December, he set out accompanied by two thousand horse, and two thousand five hundred foot, taking the direction of the southern districts of the Oronoko; he ascended the river, joined generals Cedeno and Paëz in his route, and after forty-two days march, arrived at the foot of the

ramparts of Calobozo, three hundred leagues from the point from which he set out.

While Bolivar was thus occupied, Don Juan de Alma, a royalist colonel, taking advantage of his absence, appeared before Barcelona, entered it, and barbarously put to the sword, not only the garrison but even the wives and children of all the absent patriots, who had fled for refuge to a convent which was forced after some resistance.

Bolivar attacked Morillo at Calabozo, and compelled him, after three days fighting, to abandon that city; he pursued him to Lombroero, where he defeated him again on the 16th and 17th of February 1818, and forced him to retreat in disorder within the walls of Valencia. The republican troops, however, worn out by so many battles and forced marches, now stood in need of some repose. This Bolivar granted them, and, judging it necessary to cover his rear by the occupation of San Fernando de Apure, he dispatched Cedeno and Paëz with a strong division to that place which they occupied; but Morillo, seeing that Bolivar was marching upon Caraccas at the head of only twelve hundred horse and five hundred foot, fell rapidly upon him, and attacked him at Vittoria. Bolivar was now sensible of the fault he had, a second time, committed in scattering his troops, but he repaired it nobly; fighting under the odds of one to four, he maintained a successful combat, from the 13th to the 17th of March, at Cabrera, at Marcay and at Puerta. This obstinate resistance, during which Bolivar shewed the coolest intrepidity, gave time for Cedeno and Paëz to come up with him. He immediately concentrated all his forces; rushed upon the Spaniards with incredible

rapidity; seized upon their positions on the heights of Ortis; pursued them into the plain, and forced General Torre, who was then commander in chief of the royalist army, to throw himself into the city of Calabozo, which he entered on the 30th of May.

At this epoch, a traitor put the life of Bolivar in the most imminent peril. Lopez, one of his colonels whom he had loaded with benefits, corrupted by the gold of the Spaniards, promised to betray him to their vengeance. On the 17th of June, in the middle of the night, this wretch followed by a dozen soldiers, entered his general's chamber; but fortunately Bolivar, not being asleep, was able to make some resistance, and escaped almost naked. This act of treachery had been planned in combination with an attack which general Pla was to make upon the republicans; at the moment of the seizure of Bolivar's person; and, in effect, the Liberator had hardly rejoined his army, when he was warmly attacked by the Spanish general who killed four hundred of his men. Morillo, on the other hand, having joined la Torre and assembled the troops of several garrisons, attacked Paéz on the 2nd May, in the plains of Coxedo. This battle was one of the most bloody which had been fought in the New World, and the loss on each side was so great that neither could claim the victory. This action, equally destructive to both armies, terminated the campaign in the interior.

Bolivar, who had marched in the direction of Guayana, overthrowing the Spanish forces which guarded the mouths of the Orinoko, besieged and in a few days took possession of the capital.—Our hero now devoted his whole attention to the organization of an army capable of disputing with Morillo the territory of Caraccas, and

With Samono that of Santa Fé; thus, acquitting himself, at the same time, of his obligations to his own country, and to that province which had afforded him refuge and assistance in the days of his adversity. Morillo now seeing that the permanent success of the royalist party depended on the possession of Guayana, had marched, with all the forces he could collect, into those plains fatal to tyranny, where, without ever coming to a decisive engagement, Bolivar compelled his enemy, by the mere superiority of his manœuvres, to abandon the country, with the loss of half his army. With consummate wisdom and sagacity, the modern Fabius had suddenly changed his system of warfare, and had adopted a new tactic which proved that the genius of a great captain adapts itself to circumstances, and demands no other rules than the nature of the obstacles he has to overcome. He no longer appeared that impetuous leader who decided every thing at the point of the bayonet; he now coolly and carefully studied the nature of the ground he was to carry or to defend. Never were the resources of a small army unfolded or multiplied with greater energy, celerity, and perseverance than in this memorable campaign. It was by continually harassing the enemy; by cutting off his supplies of every kind, even in the places he occupied; by forcing him always to march in a square for fear of attack, that the American general succeeded in driving out of Guayana one of the bravest and most experienced commanders of Europe.

In the mean time Bolivar's officers had taken possession of some maritime towns. General Narino had

taken Curacão; and Admiral Brion, after dispersing the Spanish flotilla, and ascending the Oronoko with some pieces of ordnance, ten thousand muskets, and ammunition of various kinds, surprized the town of Guayra.

These successes had, on all sides, revived the hopes of the independents, who, though so often betrayed by fortune, had never despaired. But the mind of Bolivar was already filled with conceptions of a higher sort of glory than that of arms, and he soon astonished the Americans by his wisdom as a statesman and legislator, after having conquered their enemies by his skill and intrepidity as a warrior. On the 15th of February, 1819, he opened the Venezuelan congress at Angostura; resigned into its hands the supreme power with which he had been invested, and laid before it a project for a republican constitution. The speech which he pronounced on this solemn occasion, breathed that spirit of frank and upright policy which has since characterized all his actions. Speaking of the English creditors of the government, he thus expresses himself, "These friends of humanity are the preservers of American liberty: we owe them eternal gratitude, and the most punctual fulfilment of the engagements we have contracted with them. The national debt, citizens legislators, is a deposit entrusted to the good faith, the honour and the gratitude of Venezuela; respect it as the sacred ark which contains, not only the rights of our benefactors, but also our national honour: let us rather perish than fail in the slightest degree in engagements which have saved our country, and ensured to our children the benefits of liberty."

Bolivar did not merely propose fundamental laws;

he also recommended to the assembly all those institutions which are within the province of a republican government, and, without which, said he, "a republic, is but an empty sound." In short, his noble and upright conduct, recalled those illustrious citizens whose patriotism, valour and genius have earned for them the highest of all titles, that of fathers of their country. The congress, however, implored him, in the name of the public safety, to retain the dictatorial power until more tranquil times, to which he consented.

After having regulated every thing connected with administration, Bolivar endeavoured to attach the liberty of New Granada to that of Venezuela. These endeavours, as we shall afterwards see, were crowned with success: the two republics have grown and flourished together under his fostering care. On the 26th of February, he set out for New Granada, to attack General Morillo who had made choice of the island of Achagos, formed by two arms of the Apure, as an impregnable position. The royalists of this province had been beaten by general Santander. Bolivar felt that the fate of the campaign depended on the junction of his troops with those of that brave officer, which he effected on the 3d of June, after having routed General Torre who endeavoured to oppose his passage. Bolivar now received the deputies of the principal towns of New Granada, and resolved to cross the Cordilleras, and to attack the Spaniards in the kingdom of New Granada. Nothing could equal the fatigues and dangers which attended this daring enterprize. It was over the summits of the loftiest mountains, in the midst of the most precipitous rocks, across eternal

snows, and through paths cut up by torrents and where the foot of man had never trodden, that this bold rival of Hannibal and Cæsar marched, at the head of a little army unprovided even with necessaries, to attack the veteran soldiers of Morillo, and to take possession of the capital of the empire. The lofty character of Bolivar gave to this expedition a heroic cast, which it will ever retain in history. All the scourges of nature seemed to conspire for the ruin of the cause of independence. The army which, it is affirmed, did not exceed fifteen hundred men, was daily thinned by the most unforeseen accidents. The passage of one little torrent alone deprived him of a hundred men, disabled by the bite of a fish called the *carib* or *raya*. The soldiers, from marching over rocky ground without shoes, were attacked by ulcers in the feet and legs. Some perished from inanition on the road, or were swept off by dysentery. An English battalion, upon which Bolivar had founded great hopes, perished almost entirely from these causes, and a still more dreadful end awaited the unfortunate survivors who had escaped these complicated sufferings. At the summit of the Andes the air is so rarified, and respiration consequently so difficult that they were almost all benumbed; they frothed at the mouth, lost their senses, tore their hair, and bereft of every sense of feeling, by degrees, ultimately died.* Of five thousand horses and mules used in the expedition, almost all perished, and the general was reduced to employ the Indians who inhabit the sides

* Captain Cochrane,

of the Paramos, to carry on their backs the ammunition for the army. The roads, if we may give that name to ravines and the drained beds of mountain streams and torrents, were filled with the dead bodies of men, horses and mules, and with baggage of every description. In the midst of these disastrous scenes, Bolivar's firmness did not forsake him for a moment. Sharing to the utmost all the sufferings of his soldiers, he set them an example of every kind of courage. Inflexible, enduring, indefatigable, he shrunk from no privation, from no peril to which his men were exposed. An English colonel (Rocke) complained to him that he had lost his baggage. Bolivar opened his portmanteau, and divided his wardrobe with him: it consisted of four shirts and four pair pantaloons. Colonel Mackintosh, an officer in the Colombian service, relates what follows—"On the expedition to New Granada in 1819, we had a number of rapid mountain-torrents to pass: in order to cross those which were not fordable, we dragged along two small canoes fastened to the tails of horses, by means of which we were sometimes enabled to make a bridge; at other times they were used to carry over troops, arms, &c. whilst those soldiers who had learnt the art of swimming, swam through the water. Upon all these occasions Bolivar was very active himself, setting the example of labour, and frequently working harder than any common soldier. On passing rapid rivers where there were fords, he * was constantly to be seen assisting the men over to prevent their being carried away by the force of the

* Bolivar is an excellent swimmer.

torrent; and carrying on his own horse ammunition, arms, and pouches. Whenever, in short, there was any obstacle to be overcome, he was constantly on the spot, directing others, or affording the example of his personal exertions, which always had the desired effect."

At length, after forty-three days march, almost beyond human strength and endurance, during which he lost his artillery and all his baggage, Bolivar descended the side of the Cordillera, and suddenly appeared near Tunja, in the valley of Sagamoso. At the first news of this sudden and miraculous appearance, the advanced guard of the Viceroy's army, three thousand five hundred strong, marched against Bolivar.—The ground and a great superiority in point of numbers, were in favour of the Spaniards who occupied impregnable heights. Bolivar saw that the success of the enterprise could only be decided by a rapid march upon the capital. The slightest hesitation, even accompanied by some contingent advantage, might perhaps have caused its failure. By one of those expedients which characterize great commanders, he concealed his march from the enemy, by fires which he caused to be lighted, and, leaving him in his rear, proceeded by forced marches upon Santa Fé. The Spaniards followed him with the utmost expedition, but Bolivar, having been able to choose his ground, waited for them at Boyaca, near Tunja, gave them battle, and put them to the rout. Berreyro general in chief of the royalist army, and thirty-eight of his officers were taken prisoners. This victory liberated New Granada, and opened the gates of Santa Fé to the republican army.

A success so unforeseen and so vast astonished all

classes of society. By escaping so many dangers, seizing upon the capital of the empire, and driving from it the representatives of the king of Spain; by defeating with a handful of undisciplined men, eight thousand regular troops, commanded by Morillo the conqueror of Boyaca had raised a formidable reputation. He was received in the capital as a liberator. He found there a million of piastres, and resources of every kind; and numerous recruits soon repaired the losses he had sustained in crossing the Cordilleras, and in the late battles he had fought. He was chosen by acclamation president of New Granada, and, in conformity with the general wish, on the 8th of September, he proclaimed the union of that province with Venezuela; thus attaching the conquests he had made to the interests of the liberty of his country.

The first care of Bolivar was now to organize the new republic, and to regulate every branch of administration. The advantage of this policy was that it produced a general conciliation among men of all opinions, and opened to the republican troops all the resources of a country devoted to their cause. It thus became easy for Bolivar to collect an army of five thousand men, at the head of which he took the road to Angustura, after appointing general Santander Vice President. Bolivar descended into the plains of Caraccas where he had frequent engagements with Morillo's troops; but the reputation of his victories had restored confidence throughout Venezuela, and his march to Angustura was only a succession of triumphs. The national congress, which had at length assembled under his protection, confirmed the union of the two provinces un-

der the title of the *republic of Colombia*, and decreed that, at the restoration of peace, a new city should be built in which congress should hold its sittings, and which should bear the name of Bolivar; but that it should assemble in Rosario-cucuta.

The union of Venezuela with New Granada inflicted a mortal stroke upon Spanish power. A population of three millions of souls; an immense continent washed by the Atlantic and Pacific, with numerous ports upon either sea; a climate so admirably varied that it gives birth to the productions of the most remote countries; a soil intersected by a great number of navigable rivers which afford the greatest facility to internal commerce; mines abounding in every sort of valuable metal; a peaceable and industrious population; lastly, a communication of the two oceans across the territory of the new state: such were the incalculable advantages which rendered the republic of Colombia a political body henceforth formidable to its enemies.

The speech pronounced by Bolivar, on this occasion, is full of wisdom and patriotism. The project of a constitution which he submitted to the approbation of congress, founded on the basis of the English constitution, had for its principal articles trial by jury, personal, religious and political liberty, and liberty of the press. He did not confine himself to these fundamental principles; he proposed the abolition of the tribute levied on the Indians; the suppression of the inquisition, and the donation of the estates belonging to convents to the public schools; the enfranchisement of slaves, (of which he had given the first example).

Seven days after the meeting of Congress, Bolivar, set out at the head of the strongest army hitherto collected on the independent side. He marched upon Calabozo, of which he took possession on the 5th of January, after several engagements in which the victors and the vanquished were equally distinguished for their bravery. In the midst of these successes, Bolivar learned the changes which the events of the isle of *Leon* had wrought in the government of Spain; he thought he foresaw in these events the possibility of a speedy peace, and sent propositions to general Morillo, to put an end to a war in which too much of human blood had already flowed. Whether the constantly increasing strength of Bolivar, and the want of necessities which began to be felt in the Spanish camp, forced upon Morillo the consciousness of his own inferiority; or whether the voice of humanity at length penetrated the heart of that inflexible commander, he received Bolivar's overtures with eagerness, and commissioners were legally appointed by both armies to meet at Truxillo, in order to conclude an armistice. The Spanish Commissioners, and after them Morillo himself, vainly endeavoured to obtain an admission of the principle of the sovereignty of Spain. These claims were constantly rejected by Bolivar; the Spaniards were obliged to recognize him as president and supreme head of the republic of Colombia, and a truce of six months was concluded between the two armies.

During the negotiations undertaken under the auspices of Bolivar and Morillo, it was observed that these

two celebrated chiefs twice passed the night in the same chamber.

In the mean time, the two parties were to send deputies to Spain, to conclude a definitive arrangement. Morillo repaired thither in person, leaving general la Torre in command of the army. The armistice signed on the 25th of November, was broken on the 24th of the following June. It is said that Bolivar violated it by taking possession of Maracaibo. We shall examine this question in a future article which will conclude this biographical notice of the president of the Colombian Republic.

B. SA....

[To be concluded next Number.]

INTERNAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH
AMERICA.

BRAZIL.

What political system is competent to unite the empire and the republican states which have succeeded the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies in South America? Will they be able to consolidate their independence, without mutual co-operation? And, admitting the establishment of this independence, does its continuance imply the necessity of the same form of government for every American nation, from Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Darien?

These are the three most important questions connected with American policy, the solution of which affects, beyond that of any other, not only the specific interests of the nations of the New World, but even the general interests of humanity. It is a subject involving the whole destiny of the new confederacies, and inferior to none, in its claim to the serious consideration of every American statesman.

In a former part of this work,* we entered into the discussion of these three essential points, which we viewed in all their diversity of aspect. We then proved, we think, with the evidence of demonstration,

* See the introduction to No. I.

that national independence and civil liberty are requisites of indispensable necessity to all the American states, of whatever denomination; that an indissoluble fraternal union could alone give efficiency to their efforts, for the attainment of these two invaluable blessings; but that indiscriminately to assign to each state the same form of government, without distinction of origin, manners or localities, would be, not only an act of violence, but a gigantic task, the possibility of which transcends the limits of the human mind, and the nature of things. We proceeded still further: we demonstrated that the erection of the empire of Brazil, in the midst of a multitude of democratic states, powerfully militated in favour of the liberal principles which have diffused themselves over the new world; because the erection of this empire proved that the opposition of the Americans originated not in their hatred to the word monarchy, but in their horror for the insupportable tyranny which, under the protection of the sceptre, had been so long exercised with impunity. Impressed with this twofold persuasion, we stated as our opinion, that, if the deductions of a contracted policy should convert into a principle of war, the difference existing between the forms of government adopted by the states recently emancipated, a conflict of this nature, deriving its source from useless abstract considerations, would transmit its influence from cabinets to society; that, like every quarrel involving opinion, it would compromise all classes; that it would bring in its train a complication of disastrous circumstances; that, lastly, this state of violence would revive the imperfectly extinguished pretensions of foreign enemies; and that, if its operation

injured not the independence of America, the stability of which cannot now be impaired, it might yet render questionable the period with which she associates her claim to the tranquil and uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings purchased by a protracted series of arduous and painful efforts.

Having, however, pointed out these dangers to the wisdom of the American politicians, there seemed to exist no reason for apprehension; and the principle solemnly adopted by the American cabinets, as a fundamental maxim in their politics, not to interfere in the domestic concerns of other powers, and to recognize any form of government, in every instance in which the principle whence its authority emanates is distinctly known;* this maxim induced us to hope, that the new social order of America, and the propitious destinies which await her, would be interrupted neither by injurious prejudices, vain theories, nor chimerical fears.

Even, at the present period, this wise policy so im-

* "The government of Colombia has laid it down, as the fundamental principle of its policy, not to intermeddle in the domestic concerns of other powers. It is very easy to recognize any form of government, when the principle or source is known from whence its authority emanates. The republic of Colombia has solemnly recognized the empire of Mexico, but to extend that recognition to the dynasty which has been there *de facto* established, in the person of D. Augustin Iturbide and his family, there is need of some other data, which we still want, notwithstanding the effective measures which have been taken to obtain them," &c.

periously claimed, as essential to the preservation of the common safety, has not yet been relinquished; and it may, to a certain degree, be asserted, that the American regeneration still reposes upon a uniform and invariable principle. It is, however, impossible to deny; that both the monarchy and the republic, each the offspring of independence, have been hitherto so completely occupied by their attention to the means of mutual vigilance and opposition, as to preclude the adoption of measures which might have effectually led to conciliation. This observation is of a most serious tendency; and, if we may express our unreserved sentiments, it appears to us not impossible, that the intemperate claims of faction may produce the elements of a destructive conflagration, unless prompt and efficient means be applied to defeat the dangerous purposes of intrigue, or to counteract the ambitious designs of some men, whose minds contemplate no source of hope, no prospect of advantage but in the oscillation of governments.

These reflexions arise from the strange and inconceivable rupture which has just taken place between the government of the republic of Buenos Ayres, and that of his imperial majesty, the emperor of Brazil. Many wars have been hitherto witnessed, (and how few are equitable?) but the scruples of aggressors have almost invariably suggested the precaution of concealing the sword under their manifestoes, and of forbearing recourse to arms, till they had first attempted the establishment of their claims. Those princes whose invasions were the most iniquitous, or the least allied to justifiable motives, as, for instance, Lewis XI, Lewis XIV, and Napoleon, were

at least willing to take the trouble to allege pretended grievances, or to assert their claim to rights of an obscure or doubtful description; a precaution which, it must be admitted, was a tribute of homage to justice, although, at the same time, a violation of its principles. It appears, however, that the republic of Buenos-Ayres has released itself from the respect which the most despotic monarchs have ever thought essential to the observance of political decorum. This republic is probably of opinion, that to assign any reason for its aggression against the Brazilian nation, would be a derogation from its dignity. The unsuspecting moment of peace, when she has neither real nor apparent cause of complaint, is that which she selects to encourage rebellion in the subjects of a friendly sovereign, and to wrest from him one of the jewels of his crown. What infatuation can have impelled a republic, just emerging into existence, to set such an example of political perfidy? It cannot have been a superabundance of strength or vigor, threatening with suffocation, or with a species of plethora, from which she anticipates a cure by the operation of bleeding. This disease is not incident to a people possessed of a territory more vast in extent, than a certain European empire which consists of a population of fifty millions of men; nor is it the disease of a nation which, if it experienced, for ages, the advantages of a settled government, and an uninterrupted tranquillity, would yet be unable to people a very inconsiderable part of the vast space which surrounds it. But what then is the motive which actuates the republicans of Buenos-Ayres? What is their object? What had they to urge against the empire of Brazil, from which no-

thing was more remote than the intention of interrupting their tranquillity? The cause of their complaint cannot be attributed, as the enemies of Brazil have circulated with so much affectation, to the restitution of the province of Monte-Video, taken from the Spaniards by Portugal, and compensated by the cession of the province of Olivera, in Europe. Nothing could be more impolitic than this pretension. It would disturb the whole new political order of South America, and stigmatise with usurpation all the encroachments occasioned by the territorial division of the ancient captainries or viceroyalties into independent states: it would also become a pretence for unjust claims, and endless intestine wars; and it would be equally consistent with justice, that the Spanish Americans should have recourse to arms, to compel the restoration of the Floridas by the United States, as that of Monte Video by Brazil: for it is indisputable, that what was done, twelve years ago, by the cabinet of Rio de Janeiro, is only what was done more recently by that of Washington; with this difference, that the United States seized upon the Floridas for the exclusive reason that this country was a convenient acquisition to them; and that Portugal took Monte Video from the Spaniards, only as a compensation for the loss of Olivera, which this power had wrested from her. So much for the question of right. As to the fact, that is to say, the means of attack on the part of Buenos Ayres, and the probable consequences of a war undertaken by this state, with no other forces than her own, for the conquest of Monte Video from Brazil, it would be absurd to think, that the government of La Plata can have seriously indulged the hope of suc-

cess. This would be, not only in military science, but also in politics, too palpable an error to impute it, with any appearance of justice, to the men who are at the head of the affairs of the republic.

The impossibility of finding, in the respective situations of Brazil and Buenos Ayres, a reasonable motive for the conduct of this republic, leaves no other alternative than that of seeking its real cause in a more extensive conspiracy, which is still concealed under the appearance of a local interest. In a word, every thing authorises the conjecture, that the claim of Monte Video by the republic of Buenos Ayres, is nothing more than a pretext alleged by the partizans of the democratic universality, for the purpose of originating a struggle, in which they hope to involve all the American republics against the only monarchical government that exists in America. However immensely important this opinion, it is not less founded on the public and secret springs, both American and foreign, which have been, for some time, put in motion by the enemies of Brazil, to vitiate the general opinion respecting this empire, and to alarm the friends of liberty, by misinterpreting the acts, and calumniating the intentions of his Imperial Majesty.

Clamours raised to heaven in consequence of the punishment of two or three criminals, whose plots, connected neither with the monarchy nor the republic, had no other object than disorder and anarchy; insidious insinuations respecting anti-constitutional principles manifested by some *cabildos*, and which the government repressed as soon as informed of them; bitter complaints, on account of an unavoidable delay in the convocation of the legislative assembly; the

attention devoted to the organization of some regiments which the government has had the presumption to clothe, maintain, and discipline, instead of continuing them in a state of nakedness, addicted to a life of disorder, and subsisting upon charity; and lastly, the affected solicitude with which some of the European journals, in other respects, of high character, circulate these absurd recriminations; are the symptoms which indicate the efforts of demagogues to subvert the actual political order of South America.

In awaiting the development of this conspiracy, which the present conflict will soon detect, let us fix the precise point at which we are now arrived; let us examine the situation as it really is.

To begin with the grievances to which we have just alluded—an attentive consideration will convince, that they are not less unjust, than the fears connected with them are vain and ridiculous.

Brazil has done nothing that requires justification. This is a triumph which she will not have the pusillanimity to grant to the vociferations of these adversaries, to whom, as in every former instance, she replies only by acts: it is by these alone she confounds the bad faith of her enemies. But as our readers are distant from the scene of American politics, and may have received erroneous impressions from accusations authoritatively repeated by one or two journals in possession of the public confidence; it is incumbent upon us to protect them against the artful insinuations to which they are exposed: it is, therefore, to them only that we address ourselves.

The empire of Brazil, it is said, threatens or at least opposes the regeneration of America: 1st. because the

form of its government is not analagous to that of the other emancipated states; secondly, because it is allied, by the bonds of consanguinity, to the natural enemies of America; and lastly, because the tendency of its interior policy is anti-liberal, anti-constitutional, &c. This, if we mistake not, constitutes the whole armory that supplies the enemies of Brazil with their weapons. We have already reduced the first accusation to its real value; our attention is, therefore, now confined to the two others. It is objected that the government of the empire offers no security to the American independence. But from which, among the new states, has this independence received guarantees more solid, or more willingly granted? Which of them has interposed a more impassable barrier between the former and the present state of things? Has the emperor, for the last four years, had any other country than Brazil, any other family than his subjects, or any other interests than theirs? Does there exist, throughout the whole of America, an individual who has resisted more powerful considerations, or severed the bonds of stronger attachments? Were not all the affections which united him to another hemisphere extinguished in his heart, from the moment an American nation adopted him as its son and its prince? Has he not, by his principles and acts, inseparably identified himself with the revolution which has for ever released the New, from the dominion of the Old World? Lastly, does not his power originate in the same cause, and is it not subject to the same contingencies, as the republican authority of the other states, which, like Brazil, have escaped from the humiliating and despotic power of

the mother country? There exists, therefore, between the Brazilian and the other governments of South America, a relation of events, interests and fortunes, which excludes from the limits of possibility a systematic opposition, on the part of the first, to the regeneration and progress of the others. The empire of Brazil, similar in its circumstances to the neighbouring republics, is indebted for its national existence to a defection justified equally by right and arms. Like them, it is the object of the persecution of irritated and implacable masters; and, like them, it is sustained by the rivalry of a powerful nation, within the vicinity of its former rulers. Is it then probable, that it would endanger its existence, by separating from a vigorous community, in the bosom of which it was reared, and to the destiny of which, at least for a long series of years, nature and policy so powerfully bind it? And what, after a schism so pregnant with danger, would be the prospects and condition of a prince to whom Brazil acknowledges its regeneration? What compensation would he find in the tyrannical decay of the old systems, for the loss of an empire which, with a species of creative energy, he has rescued from a state of non-existence? Nor is there any force in the objection which urges the pleadings of nature, or the influence of recollections. History supplies daily testimony, that, in politics, the ties of blood have little power to bind the affections; and unavailing recollections oppose but a feeble resistance to the strong mind of a philosophical prince, who has long sacrificed them to the essential necessities of the present civilization, the progress of which he has promoted with cordial and ingenuous sincerity. No,

the emperor will not renew the chains which he has himself broken; nor will he cease to defend, in the face of the universe, the brothers, the associates whom nature has given him, and whom the dictates of policy enjoin him to acknowledge. Of this, no other pledges are required than the elevation of his mind, and the knowledge he possesses of his real situation.

The enemies of the Brazilian government offer not a less violent insult to the public understanding, when, through the medium of every description of intrigue, they attempt to convey the impression, that the tendency of its internal administration is to invade the liberty of the citizen. The admission of the least degree of sincerity in these recriminations, repeated to satiety, would compel the acknowledgment, that they betray a perfect ignorance of the difference of position which existed between the states of South America, at the moment of their revolutions, as well as of those which accompanied the progress of these respective revolutions. That Spanish America, in its violent secession from the mother-country, and in its sudden annihilation, even to the last vestige, of a monarchical, hostile government, should seek refuge in the protection of democracy, was natural: for the first desire of a people released from a bad government is to exchange it for another; and, as the authority of tyrants was subverted by the people, the substitution of their own, in its place, was not only natural but even just. Thus placed, by the very nature of their revolution, under the necessity of adopting the popular government, as the fundamental basis of their new political existence, the Spanish colonies had not only the option, it was even their duty, to revert to the first elements, to ex-

amine all the phases, and to submit to all the vicissitudes of this form of government. Hence, without exciting astonishment, their attention has been, for fifteen years, occupied in discussing theories of government, or in analysing the principles upon which they were to erect the basis of their public rights; and, at length, after a series of progression or obstruction, according to the varying impulse of popular passions, they have arrived, amidst a thousand convulsions, at that social state which they now possess, and which they peacefully enjoy.—The absence, in the revolutionary movement, of all the branches of the former government; the peculiar co-operation, in this regenerative movement, of men belonging to the lower classes of the nation; the hostile attitude of the expelled dynasty, and the well-attested impossibility of ever conciliating the imprescriptible rights of the people with the claims of a family gangrened with tyranny; every thing concurred to produce the state and circumstances described. In connection with this, it must be considered, that the collision of passions had ceased to be an object of fear to nations, all the anterior local elements of which were so dispersed as to be incapable of re-union, unless by the indispensable, although occasionally stormy discussion of the principles of a democracy, which was now become an inseparable appendage of Spanish America.

But did there exist any reason to induce Brazil, restored to independence and liberty, by circumstances completely dissimilar, unnecessarily to provoke convulsions, and expose herself to the infliction of wounds which she could not sustain, because, unprepared for receiving them? This dissimilitude, which is strictly

true, is a subject worthy of investigation. Brazil had effected, without dismemberment, her transition from dependence to liberty: this change cost her neither territorial divisions nor protracted internal troubles. The people broke their chains silently: and it was the hand of her prince which loosened the ties that bound her to the car of the mother country: it was the same hand which, after consummating her exterior deliverance, opened to her the career of civil liberty, the blessings of which she knew not, and for the possession of which she felt little ardour of desire: there was, consequently, no commotion sufficiently violent or general, to subject the adoptive chief of the state to the dangerous necessity of beginning where he should have ended, that is, with the definitive establishment of a form of government, previously to founding the institutions, by which alone, it could be understood, approved and defended. Brazil, independent and free, but, at the same time, desirous of monarchy in connection with liberty; Brazil, peaceful and rallying under the standard of that monarchy, now in a state of rejuvenescence, and adapted to her exigencies, was under no obligation, from any principle of duty, and merely to favour the views of Spanish America, anxiously to collect the scattered elements of democracy, or, from a false spirit of benevolence, expose herself to the turbulence of party, for no other purpose than to sacrifice at the shrine of imitation.

But has this subject received its appropriate share of reflexion? What would have been the consequences, if Brazil, in its constitutional monarchical state, had submitted to the premature concession of all the popular prerogatives which have been seized

by the neighbouring republics, after a succession of many years of trials and calamities? Brazil was not, like them, under the influence of motives arising from a state of distress and extreme misfortune. She was in the possession of a vigorous existence. She had no opposition to contend with, but was impelled by her chief into the path of liberty. Thus, therefore, to excite passions, which had otherwise remained latent or unknown, is not only a wilful misconception of the nature of the human mind, ever prone to irritation; but an attempt to foment troubles for the purpose of being crushed under their weight, or compelled to repress them by the effusion of human blood! But let candour speak with unreserved freedom, and at once decide the question. Men who see no safety for America but in the general adoption of the republican government, are justly alarmed at the progress of that of Brazil; but enlightened politicians, convinced that the existence of a representative monarchy, in one of the parts of that immense territory, neither can, nor will threaten the repose of a republican world, perceive nothing, in the conduct of the cabinet of Rio de Janeiro, but a tendency perfectly compatible with the principle of its own particular existence, and that of the general independence of America. Placed between the republic and the monarchy, Brazil faithfully directed her steps towards monarchy, but a monarchy of that description which, as Montesquieu observes, conceals under its form the essence of the republic.

To prove this truth, however incontrovertible, in the estimation of good faith, we shall not attempt to repel all the ill-pointed shafts which a press, under the im-

pression of error, to say nothing more, occasionally hurls against the emperor of Brazil, and which the poet calls

Telum imbelle sine ictu.

But we request those persons whose officious detraction imputes *liberticide* intentions to this prince, to assign the specific motive of their clamours. What flagitious act has this tyrant, of a species hitherto undescribed, committed against liberty? It is objected, that he has fixed neither the rights of the people, nor those of the sovereign. But the people had no rights; yet those which the prince has conferred upon them are immense, and so powerfully protected by the situation in which he has voluntarily placed himself, that it is impossible for him to invade them.

In reference to that part of the administrative right which establishes and guarantees the lives, reputation, and property of the citizen, how striking is the contrast, when opposed to the terrifying confusion which prevailed before the revolution. Of all the nations existing on the same continent, is there one that can exhibit a code of civil laws, dictated by superior wisdom, or that more effectually conciliates the claims of reason and humanity?

We now proceed to another alleged inconsistency. After representing the emperor as the irreconcilable enemy of the national independence, all his measures are censured with the most captious vigilance, and with a supposed acuteness of penetration, which invariably

discovers in them designs hostile to the liberty of the Americans.

The public mind is perpetually harassed by absurd and fastidious interpretations of intentions originating in the purest motives. The most simple incidents are transformed into a systematic conspiracy, and every constitutional sentiment uttered by his Imperial Majesty is converted into the most poignant satire. If a deceived municipality petitions his Majesty to assume the sceptre of absolute power, the monarch, faithful to the trust reposed in him, again proclaims, in the face of the universe, the sacred obligation of the promises which bind him to his people. He censures and imposes silence upon the *cabillo*: one of his officers has the presumption to express the same desire; the emperor manifests his disapprobation, inflicts on him severe punishment, and thus renews to his subjects the guarantee of the principles by which he is actuated. This, however, is not sufficient; the detractors of Brazil, at the head of whom, for reasons which we cannot assign, is a respectable journal, the *Times*, perceive nothing in this conduct but sentiments originating in retrospective views, or in the anticipation of future prospects fatal to the liberty of the Americans. But what would this scrutinizer of the human heart have said, if the emperor, availing himself of the liberty he possessed, had received, in silent acquiescence, this legal manifestation of the sentiments of a few citizens, who, we admit, must have been in a state of mental alienation, but who, under a free government, had an unquestionable right to express their unreserved opinion, on any subject whatever? The grave Aristarchus the *Times*,

would undoubtedly have cried out "tyranny," and represented the American counter-revolution as already consummated. This, indeed, is to judge of great things by the standard of those which are infinitely small: it is an attempt to contract the expanded sentiments of a faithful and generous prince within the sphere of the most sordid views and illiberal feelings.

Such, however, are the declamations, the object of which is to weaken the foundation of the Brazilian empire, by exciting chimerical fears respecting the anti-liberal tendency of its domestic and foreign policy. But the men, who thus designedly endeavour to impress the public mind with these puerile apprehensions, attach to them no more importance than ourselves, or any person who is not bereft of his senses. The real cause of uneasiness or alarm is the conviction, that the empire, in consequence of obeying the general impulse, is now, more firmly fixed on its basis; that, invested with the attributes of glory and power, it identifies itself with all the interests that are the genuine offspring of the American revolution; that it has acquired a degree of moral and physical strength sufficient to give stability to the station it occupies in the political system of America; that, in short, the prince whom the nation has selected to preside over it, will, with a courage undismayed by difficulties, pursue the arduous career of a wise and solid liberty; because to a mind, glowing with fervor and animated with the purest sentiments for its attainment, he unites the constancy, courage, and fortitude requisite to render its acquisition permanent. This compatibility on one side, and this stability on the other, have thrown into the gloom of despondency a few innovators who, consider-

ing the monarchical organization of Brazil merely an evanescent state, which would soon disappear and become extinct in their anticipated republican universality, exert every effort to obstruct its progress, by inspiring puerile fears, and kindling the torch of discord. It is, there is every reason to believe, in these dark machinations that originated the events of Monte Video,* and the unequivocal attitude of Buenos-Ayres. The restitution of this province is evidently only a pretence for the troubles created there by some traitor, and his hireling satellites. The cause has its source in the enemies of peace, whose hatred of order impels them to some desperate measure, of which they have not probably foreseen all the consequences.

Nothing, however, is so easy as to predict the inevitable effect, upon the general system of America, of an intestine war, directly or indirectly undertaken, to change or impair the form of the Brazilian government. If the event of Monte-Video assumed a different character from that of a simple question of locality, and presented the development of a general system of hostility against Brazil, we might then anticipate the numerous considerations which would be suggested by this rupture. In the mean time, we will confine ourselves to one reflection which, we think, will have some weight in the estimation of men who are endeavouring to precipitate their country into a new abyss. Which, among all the new American governments, is that for which the British cabinet and

* See section War.

nation, those natural allies, those powerful defenders of the New-World, have evinced most regard? Which has been the object of most solicitude, of most negotiations and of the most constant activity? To which of them did Great Britain send an embassy the importance of which is a more favorable indication of her regard, than that of Sir Charles Stuart? When England declared in favour of the new American system, did she not consider the empire of Brazil as an integral part of that system? and can it be reasonably supposed, that she would see with indifference new troubles created for no other purpose than to subvert the existing order of things, and to provoke, on the part of continental Europe, new clamours against the generous policy which induced the king of Great Britain to recognise the independence of the New World, in spite of all the efforts to prevent him.

In short, would not the attempt to excite new convulsions supply the enemies of America with a pretence for recrimination against the system of endless opposition in which the democracy of that country would appear to indulge? Once more, we will revert, if necessary, to these important points, which, for the present, we merely suggest to the consideration of every true American patriot. But whilst Brazil, as she seems at present determined, shall confine herself to defend the integrity of the constitutional empire, to found her interior regulations upon unequivocal, liberal institutions; to support these institutions by a respectable force, raised not for the purpose of attack but for that of defence; whilst she shall maintain the independence of her commerce and of her flag, by squadrons which, though apparently rising into existence as by the power

of creation, are yet only the natural effect of the national co-operation; whilst Brazil shall thus act, we fear not to assert, that the war imprudently undertaken against her will terminate gloriously in her favour, and perhaps in connection with some extensive benefit, in the course of its duration. We hope, however, that things will not come to this extremity, and that all the sons of liberated America, of whatever denomination, will be impressed with the truth of this maxim, the wisdom of which is applicable to all, but particularly to them,—*vis unita fortior*.

F. D. F.

PARAGUAY.

(Extract from a private Correspondence.)

Among the new states of America, Paraguay has established its independence with the greatest degree of facility, order and tranquillity. It has scarcely met with any obstacle to the accomplishment of this great change. Its progress towards the new order of things has, consequently, been exempt from those painful and afflicting sacrifices which but too often marked the course of the revolution in the other states. To these fortunate circumstances, as well as to its situation in the interior of the continent, is consequently to be assigned the reason, why this country has not been more conspicuous among those whose great efforts have changed the whole face of America. In Europe, the new political systems which now govern Buenos Ayres, Chili, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, and the empire of Brazil, are sufficiently known, as well as the present

state of these different countries; there exists, however, but very vague information respecting this republic, * which, although the least of all, has not a less claim to attention.

Paraguay is that part of South America situated between Brazil, Peru, Chili and the united provinces of Buenos Ayres.

According to a census in 1822, its population amounted to more than five hundred thousand persons, and there is no doubt that this number is, at the present moment, still greater. The Paraguayans are distinguished for their extreme love to their country, for their attachment to labour, for their mildness of disposition and the rectitude of their sentiments. Peace and concord have not ceased to reign amongst them since their revolution.

Their territory is watered by the majestic Parana and many other rivers. It is one of the most fruitful and richest in this part of the world: it is the garden of the southern hemisphere; it possesses almost all the productions of the universe, but the climate is more particularly favourable to those of Brazil, the Philippian isles and the island of Cuba. The forests abound in valuable wood, in gum, &c. articles entirely unknown in Europe. There is a considerable number

* It being extremely difficult to obtain information respecting the present state of Paraguay, we have applied to one of our correspondents residing near the scene of events. We will give his letter as it was sent to us; and although our correspondent appears much too indulgent to Dr. Francia and his system of administration, we have made no alteration in his letter: we wish merely to suggest to our readers that his views are very different from our own.

of harbours on the rivers: the principal is the port of Assumption.

The inhabitants of Paraguay, who are, in general, the best informed in Southern America, foresaw from 1803, the consequences which would arise to the ultra-marine possessions of Spain, from the events of the mother country.

They inferred, that they would soon cease to receive from it either succour or protection; and willing to avert the evils of a violent revolution, they sought the means of administering their own affairs, without exposing themselves to the dangers of anarchy, or involving themselves in the quarrels of their neighbours. A general assembly of the chief men was, in consequence, convoked: all, to the number of more than a thousand, decided in favour of absolute independence. It was resolved, at the same time, to confide the government of the state to him who possessed the most extensive knowledge. There was a division among the electors; some voted for Dr. Francia, others for M. Yégros. To put an end to this difference of opinion, it was decided that the two citizens should govern the state conjointly. To each was assigned a nearly equal share of political affairs, and each had the command of half the armed force of the province. But, at the following election, Dr. Francia was exclusively appointed chief of the government, under the title of Supreme Director, and since that time he has continued to fill this post. *

* Doctor D. Gaspard Francia is a native of Paraguay. His parents intending him for the bar, his studies were at first exclu-

When the government was organized, Paraguay was divided into six departments, under the names of *Assomption*, *Villa-Real*, *Sant Iago*, *Conception*, *Curugua-lia* and *Candolatia*. The administrators of these departments receive orders immediately from the supreme director. The code, which governs them provisionally, establishes the most perfect equality between all the citizens. * The supreme administration and the departmental administration are organized on the most simple principles: there is no useless machi-

sively preparatory for that profession; but this he soon relinquished, and directed his attention to the study of the sciences. Having little inclination for society, and sufficient property to live in a state of independence, he retired into the country, where he devoted himself principally to the investigation of useful truths. He was thus employed at the period of the revolution in Paraguay. For the distinction of which he was the object, he was indebted to the reputation he had obtained, as a man of learning, integrity and disinterestedness. He appears to have acquired a great ascendancy over his countrymen. His orders are always punctually executed: he inspects every thing himself, and administers each branch of the government, in the most simple and economical manner. His disinterestedness is such, that he has refused every kind of emolument.

* This code opposes neither the usages, nor even the prejudices of a people, who differ from others in almost every thing. All the reforms and changes which the supreme director wishes to introduce, are effected gradually, and not till the people are sensible of the advantages connected with them. The laws have not yet permitted the publication of works on political controversy.

nery; and such is the respect for the laws, that the tribunals are almost always unemployed.

Although the laws are few, there is no necessity to increase their number, because those which exist include all usual cases. They are all characterized by superior wisdom. That which restores liberty to the slaves prescribes measures of so prudent a nature, that its execution has neither occasioned injury to the masters of the slaves, nor any interruption to the public tranquillity.

The representative body is composed of seven members appointed by each department. They are elected in the same manner as the deputies to the Spanish cortes; with this difference, that, at the parochial elections, married persons, widowers or widows, as heads of families, have alone the right of suffrage. This condition of marriage, necessary in order to be an elector of the first degree, is not required to be an elector of the second degree, nor to be a deputy, or to fill any other public function. In difficult cases, the representative body fills the functions of council of state; and no acts of importance are valid, till after having received its sanction. This body has a secretary and clerks, whom it chooses from a triple list presented to it by the executive power. The other public functionaries are appointed in the same manner. The supreme director, the representatives, and the other public functionaries, receive no emolument.

During the first fifteen years, no foreign trade was permitted in Paraguay, except that which was indispensably necessary in order to procure arms and other articles required by the government. The intention

of this measure was to counteract the injurious effects that might have arisen from the introduction of foreigners into Paraguay, under pretence of carrying on their trade, but whose only design would have been to sow the seeds of discord. This precaution was prejudicial to the interest of the Paraguayans, but they adopted it as an act of prudence.

Persons unemployed were engaged in making new roads, in building bridges, and in other useful works in the interior of the country.

For two years, thinking that their institutions and repose would henceforth incur no danger from connexion with foreign nations, the Paraguayans have endeavoured to establish in Europe commercial and political relations. With this view they have sent to England an agent, and two ships loaded with sugar, cocoa, indigo, cotton, &c; it is with the same view that they have created, in each of their departments, under the auspices of the supreme director, a commercial company for the exportation of the produce of their country, and that considerable capitals have been applied to the operations of these companies, the presidents of which are all chosen from among the members of the representative body.

The finances of Paraguay are in the most prosperous state; and although, hitherto, this country has had neither custom-house nor excise, it has incurred no debt: its government on the contrary, has supplied a loan of 2,000,000 of dollars to the landholders, to enable them to improve their estates; and it has in its coffers a reserve of more than 1,000,000 of dollars in specie. Its revenue arises,

First, from a tax extremely light on land; secondly,

from the produce of the lands and houses which formerly belonged to the Jesuits, and which are the richest and the finest in the country; thirdly, from the tythes formerly received by the church, and which the law, in consequence of providing for their maintenance, has appropriated to the state.

These branches of revenue have been applied to the different exigencies of the republic, and to the improvement of whatever has been established, in the interior, in order to promote individual prosperity. Such has been the economy in this application of the different public funds, that during the last four or five years, there has been in the treasury, a yearly surplus of half a million of dollars. These sources of revenue will, no doubt, considerably increase when foreign trade shall have acquired the activity which government is now endeavouring to give it.

The following constitutes the armed force of Paraguay: 30,000 militia, who can be called out only in case of foreign invasion; four legions of volunteers of 2,000 men each, one legion only serving at a time, and being paid only during the time of service; lastly, three ships of war destined for the defence of the rivers. These forces are under the immediate command of the supreme director, who had no occasion to employ them, till Buenos Ayres and Artigas wished to induce Paraguay to join them. Buenos Ayres was obliged to renounce its project, and Artigas, having been defeated, was taken and imprisoned, by Dr. Francia, in a monastery, where he has remained seven or eight years.*

* General Artigas was one of the first who, on the eastern bank of La Plata, took arms to release the country from the Spanish

Thus the war, the evils of which so severely afflicted the other parts of Southern America, has scarcely affected this province, in consequence of the wisdom with which, during the revolution, it constantly separated itself from the countries with which it is surrounded.

The supreme director has also rejected all the proposals made to him by Buenos-Ayres to unite Paraguay, to the confederation of the provinces which formerly composed the viceroyalty of the river La Plata. He even refused to establish any commercial relations with these provinces, whilst they were torn by intestine dissensions;* but there is no doubt that he will now adopt some other system. His only object, at that time, was to secure to his country the continuance of its independence and tranquillity: these, in his opinion,

dominion. When the Portuguese took possession of Montevideo, finding himself too feeble to expel them, and Buenos-Ayres not being disposed to make common cause with him, he applied to Governor Francia, who, for the reasons stated in this article, formally refused to second his designs. He then thought he could enforce compliance by arms; but, after a struggle of two or three years exhibiting only an occasional degree of energy, his enterprise completely failed.

* During the whole time that Paraguay refused to join its neighbours, it had no foreign trade but with Brazil; and this traffic was very limited. The only foreigners permitted to enter its territories were the numerous victims of party spirit, who had been obliged to leave the provinces of Corrientes, Tucuman, Buenos-Ayres, and particularly the eastern bank of La Plata.

would have been compromised, had he connected himself with nations who had involved themselves in anarchy. With equal and even with greater reason, he rejected the still more extraordinary proposal of the emperor of Brazil, to incorporate Paraguay with his empire. The Paraguayans were the more surprised at this proposal, on the part of Don Pedro, because his father, King John, had formally acknowledged their independence before his departure from Brazil. In a word, the Paraguayans are determined to remain as they are, free and independent; and there is no sacrifice to which they would not submit, to maintain themselves in the happy situation in which they have been placed, during the last sixteen years.

RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC
OF HAYTI BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

The contemplation of the great and interesting scene which the succession of every day develops, excites emotions of pity and contempt for the wretched conspiracy of those pigmies in political science, who would rejoice to roll back to their sources the torrents of civilization and liberty. Gifted, in their own estimation, with the attribute of prescience, they are yet incapable of extending their views to events the most obviously probable; and, whilst the current of human affairs impels them forward in its unceasing and rapid progression, the illusion of imagination persuades them that they themselves are stationary, and renders them insensible to the immense interval which separates them from the men, the time, and the circumstances, in the midst of which they

still believe themselves existing. Never, however, did events more numerous or of greater magnitude than those which we now witness, prove, with an equal degree of evidence, that, when revolutions have effected a change in the manners, the habits, the character, the desires, and the interests of nations, their development may be retarded by some temporary obstruction; but that the prevention of their final accomplishment, at the period assigned to them, in the political order, is beyond the extent of human possibility.

From the day the inhabitants of St. Domingo, after breaking their chains and expelling their oppressors, placed a torch over the doors of their houses, that, at the first appearance of a hostile flag, the flames might again consume whatever had been reconstructed; from that day, the sovereignty of France over St. Domingo possessed only an ideal existence: and the moment which witnessed its annihilation was that, when the enfranchised negroes confided their liberty to the protection of the laws, of justice and of humanity. From that moment, which achieved and permanently secured the triumph of the Haytians, the only course that wisdom dictated to France, was to secure by treaty a participation in the advantages to be derived from the new order of things. And yet, in a period of twenty-two years, how many misfortunes have been occasioned! how many sacrifices have been made! and what torrents of tears and blood have flowed, to defend a vain phantom of sovereignty against the claims of an expanded and liberal policy! The richest of the Antilles has been involved in the ravages of fire, and inundated with blood; the treasures of France

have been expended; the flower of her armies has been destroyed: nor has a year elapsed, since those who expressed the language of the French ministry, exclaimed, "Whatever, in the first instance, may have been urged by mad-men, and subsequently by men destitute of principle and feeling, shame and woe to the government that shall first break down the barrier which nature, the laws, and customs have interposed between two races so dissimilar! Shame and woe to the government that shall first set the fatal example of legitimatizing a revolt which has sacrificed the lives of a whole population of our brethren and fellow citizens! Rather let the colonies remain as they are, than prostitute to mercantile combinations the honour of France and the dignity of the white-people."

What has been the result of these declamations, and of a thousand others equally insulting? Time and events have visited them with that retributive justice, the severity of which invariably extends to every instance of flagitious iniquity, originating in folly, pride and cupidity. The policy of old times has at length yielded to liberal views, to the imperious law of necessity; and the independence of the Haytian nation has been recognized.

Considered in a political, moral, and commercial point of view, this recognition is an event of immense importance. It not only destroys an ancient principle which has, for so many ages, sustained the vicious organization of almost all political societies; it not only saps the foundation of that monstrous confederacy, the Holy Alliance, in which the parties protect, by mutual guarantee, every kind of tyranny; it does still more: it subverts a prejudice, the existence of which

is coeval with that of time; it abrogates the difference of *epidermis*, and humanity for ever obliterates from its recollection the distinction which separates mankind into two species. I may express, in the language of exaggeration, the importance of the recognition of St. Domingo; but the scene which exhibits a negro taking his seat in one of the most ancient courts of Europe, amidst the ambassadors of the most Holy Alliance, between the pope's nuncio, and Mr. Pozzo di Borgo, is, in my apprehension, an impressive proof of the triumph of philosophy and of the change which the revolution of opinion has already produced in the state of the world.

Independently of the sanction of the principle for which they have been struggling these last fifteen years, the new states of South America will find, in the recognition of St Domingo, a powerful guarantee of their own.

In short, had the French troops again effected an establishment in this important position, it would have become a point of attack against all the states of the southern continent, a vast arsenal for their enemies, and an asylum for anti-revolutionary principles, and anti-revolutionary men, producing consequences which might have, for a long time, seriously threatened, or at least interrupted the repose of the American states. To this may be added, that the recognition of Hayti by the king of France, not only virtually impresses with ridicule, but brands with reprobation, the principle which still sustains the Spanish government, in its opposition to the emancipation of its colonies. If France, in a state of power,

opulence and prosperity, solemnly recognizes the sovereignty of a nation of blacks, whom she lately claimed as her property and slaves; if she sanctions the rights which they have received from nature; if she admits them within the bosom of the great political family, and upon terms of equality with the oldest government of feudal Europe;—with what consistency can Spain, feeble, gangrened with misery, and on the verge of dissolution, persist in asserting her claim to a supremacy, usurped, by cunning and force, over men upon whom nature has not even impressed the distinction of colour, and to whom she has been, by many degrees, more liberal in the communication of intellectual vigour and generosity of disposition, than to their ancient oppressors? Will Spain arm herself against one half of Domingo, with the superannuated principle of legitimacy, which France has just relinquished in favour of the other half? Will she still threaten Mexico, or any other American state, with the hostility of France, to counteract a revolution which France herself has just sanctioned in the seas and vicinity of this country? And, if it is universally acknowledged, that she can no longer expect the co-operation of France, England, or any other civilized power in Europe, will she still indulge the presumptuous and deceptive hope of reconquering her ancient colonies, by the assistance of the Baskirs and Calmouks who inhabit Caucasus or Siberia? All this she will no doubt attempt; for there is no infatuation of which her government is not capable: but the impotency of her efforts will excite only the smile of pity; and, whilst America is rising to the highest elevation of prosperity and national character, Spain, the

victim of the contempt she inspires, will sink under the pressure of her pride and madness. Is it even improbable, that these colonies, so long the objects of her relentless persecution, and whom, at the present moment, she so unnecessarily insults, may, within no considerable time, interpose their influence in her favour? Generosity is the characteristic of youth and vigour; and it would not be astonishing, if America should one day extend her sympathy to Spain.

We shall not advert to the influence of the acknowledged sovereignty of St. Domingo over the fate of the Havanna. The emancipation of this beautiful Spanish possession is a consequence, the certainty of which no one questions; nor is it less evident, that the recognition of St. Domingo will accelerate the moment, which will irrecoverably wrest from Spain her last refuge in the gulf of Mexico, and the only point from which she still possesses the means of insulting the American coasts. In this respect, the recognition of St. Domingo inflicts the death wound upon the colonial system of Spain. As to the events which may arise from the enfranchisement of the Havanna, they are involved in the uncertainty connected with whatever relates to the destiny of the insular points of the gulf of Mexico, which equally form a part of the combinations of the European, and American policy.

Such are the political and almost immediate results to be expected from the ordinance of the king of France, sanctioning the sovereignty of the republic of Hayti. As to the commercial consequences which they will also produce, such, in our estimation, is

their importance, that we shall devote to them a specific article, in our next Number.

In the mean time, we cannot help offering a reflection, which must, we think, have suggested itself to every impartial mind: we mean, that the act which solemnly proclaims the sovereignty of Hayti, has been, to almost all parties, a source of remarks and animadversion, tending to protract the disquietude of the friends of peace and liberty. The most vigilant scrutiny is exerted to detect irregularities in the royal ordinance by which this sovereignty is acknowledged. It is not indeed impossible, that it may, in some instances, exhibit deviations from correctness; but so many bad things are every day performed in an irregular manner, that criticism should remit something of its rigour, in an act so deeply involving the interests of humanity. That this act should occasionally betray indications of vanity, and, in some respect, an opposition to the spirit of the stipulations which it contains; that the words *we determine, we grant, we ordain*, exhibit a strange contrast with the expression *a full and entire independence*; that there should be something strange in the style and manner of the ordinance, apparently conferring independence in consideration only of the precarious state of St. Domingo, which, however, is, in no respect, in a precarious state; that it may likewise appear singular, that the king of France, who, for twenty years, has not possessed a shadow of authority in St. Domingo, should, to the last moment, assume the exercise of an act of sovereignty, by generously opening to all nations the ports of this island, which, for a long

time, have been open to every nation except France; that all this motley mixture should betray an anxiety to defend in theory, that which, by compulsion, is relinquished in practice; that it may even one day become a source of discussion;—the whole of this is perfectly true: but the essential point was the triumph of principles; and this triumph is in reality accomplished. The true friends of liberty should therefore receive, with feelings of gratitude, a benefit conferred by a government, which, however voluntary or compelled the motives of its determination, has at length acted in unison with the general interest and wishes, and adopted, notwithstanding its delay, the principles of a wise and generous policy, from which it cannot now depart, but at the expence of incurring the contempt of the whole world. Let us, however, offer the tribute of praise whenever it may be justly claimed, and reserve the severity of reprobation for those unjustifiable acts, which are constant afflicting humanity.

If a free nation were required to submit to any sacrifice involving its glory or interests, we should be the first to vindicate the rights of the Haytian nation; but the act to which we allude is eminently favourable to them: the only object of solicitude is, that the influence of good faith may preside over the important transaction which has just taken place. But, should a ministry, the character of whose policy, it must be acknowledged, is feebleness and instability, find, in the royal ordinance certain terms convertible into weapons of aggression, we should not hesitate to expose their machiavelism,

and invoke upon their heads the public indignation. We trust, however, that we shall never have to perform so painful a duty.

The ordinance of the emancipation of the republic of Hayti by the king of France, has been a fertile subject of objections and censure to some of the London journals. The *Times*, in particular, has, in this instance, with singular deviation from its accustomed philanthropy, advocated the doctrine which justifies the preponderance of partial over general interest. In the first place it bitterly inveighs against the commercial advantages which France will derive from St. Domingo, to the exclusion of other powers. "England, it observes, has had repeated overtures from the Haytians, holding out advantages the most signal and exclusive, in return for her recognition of their independence. She has uniformly, and doubtless with extreme delicacy,—but with how much wisdom is another point, referred them to their "mother-country, bidding them first obtain the consent of France, or show a flat negative from that power, as the only ground on which England could think of interfering. We have therefore lost whatever benefit might have been secured to us, from setting the example which we now must be content to imitate, &c."—In another passage, unsolicitous to dissemble the displeasure occasioned by the policy of the Haytian government, which it accuses of weakness for an act which, on the contrary, indicates much wisdom and foresight, the leading journal of England adds, "No doubt that Hayti was free and independent, whether France had consented or declined to acknowledge her. It is equally undoubted that, if six millions of Haytian money have

gone for the purchase of such a concession from the Bourbons, the latter, so far as the treaty is confined to the immediate relations between France and St. Domingo, have great reason to be satisfied with the bargain. We have long since wondered why it was that the black republic should be desirous of paying for the shadow a higher price than the substance of emancipation had cost her. More particularly as there exists no possible guarantee against future attempts of France, under other pretexts, to overthrow that sovereignty of which she has now so dearly sold the verbal recognition;" and else where it says, "Magnificent terms, it must be owned, for France, have thus been stipulated by M. de Villele. The Haytians fight for liberty—they obtain it as completely as the Mexicans and Colombians can be said to have realized theirs. The yoke of France has been as thoroughly thrown from off the necks of the people of Hayti, as that of England was ever cast away by the United States; and having the good—the inestimable good of independence securely and irrecoverably in their own pockets, these simple black republicans have agreed to buy, at an enormous price, the confession of France that they really are what she has proved herself unable to prevent them from becoming—a free and sovereign community. Why, it must be a miraculously conscientious Cabinet that would not swear black white—aye all the negroes in the West Indies to be pure Circassians—for the third part of six millions sterling. Suppose M. de Villele and his colleagues had been asked, whether Hayti was in truth a French possession for the ten last years or not,

what could they have answered but the plain fact, without raising, at their own expense, and that of their sovereign, a universal shout of laughter? Had they the power of reconquering Hayti? Unquestionably they had no such power, or they would have employed it with eagerness. The acquiescence of France in Haytian freedom was a confession of that freedom, a virtual recognition of it, and the only "recognition" worth a single straw. Charles and his brother have been as much kings of Hayti, as their cousin Ferdinand is now king of Jerusalem, or as George III. was *bonâ fide* king of "Great Britain France, and Ireland," just before the peace of Amiens. One effect of this foolish treaty—foolish only on the part of Boyer—is, that by purchasing the acknowledgment of what was before an undisputed fact, he has brought the fact itself into question, for he has afforded room to doubt, that Hayti had the means of keeping that which she had beggared herself to buy. A second consequence is, that by so large a drain of resources from the republic, she in the same degree deprives herself of the means of enforcing the very right for which she stipulates. What power of resisting any encroachment, or resenting any insult, or securing any respect from France, can the Haytian people boast of, after stripping themselves of a sum which few states in Europe could bear to sacrifice, without a long course of national weakness and privation?..... They were in bondage till the arrival of the French fleet—they were vassals up to the moment when the royal ordinance was read—they paid homage to their master when receiving the cap of

liberty; and, that nothing might be wanting to complete the slavish resemblance, the manumitting rod was represented by an imposing naval force," &c.

The asperity which pervades all these observations requires no comment. A moment's reflection is sufficient to convince the most superficial understanding of its injustice. From the moment the British ministry determined to recognize the new states of South America, they were assured that negotiations had been entered into between St. Domingo and France. When a short intermission took place in these negotiations, the ministry were informed that the interruption was only temporary: could they, then, without the violation of consistency, interfere between their ally and her colony? And particularly, as they had not recognized the independence of the possessions of Spain, till they had repeatedly advised this power to adopt measures of conciliation, and solemnly declared, in the face of the world, that they would gladly see Spain secure to herself the possession of exclusive advantages from her colonies, and that they would be satisfied to follow her example. "Spain," said Mr. Canning at the opening of the last session of parliament, "Spain has been told for years, that if she would take the precedence in this act of grace, Great Britain would be content to follow at an humble distance, giving her all the advantages of priority in the markets of her colonies. She has refused our offers; and though we go alone in this recognition, we scorn to take any separate advantage. In every treaty we have negotiated with the independent states, so far from selling our recognition for a price, we demanded only to be

placed where those who chose to follow us should stand upon equal terms at our side." After this profession of faith, could, or ought the ministers of his Britannic Majesty to have acted, in respect to St. Domingo and France, otherwise than they have done? We shall not here enter into the considerations arising from the political and moral state of the West Indies, which must also have had some weight in the estimation of Mr. Canning, on this occasion.

These considerations cannot have escaped the sagacity of the learned writers of the *Times*. As to the reproach urged against the Haytians, for having dearly and disgracefully paid for a right which really belonged to them, we cannot adopt the opinion of our contemporary: we think, on the contrary, that, if the citizens of Hayti were incontestibly authorised by nature, to take possession, at any price whatever, of the liberty which they received from her, and which had been unjustly wrested from them, they certainly had not a right to appropriate to themselves the property which did not belong to them. Now, by granting an indemnity to the spoliated proprietors, all that can be urged is, not that the Haytians have purchased their liberty, but that they have purchased the right of conscientiously enjoying it; in other terms, they have only obeyed the laws of justice and good faith.

B. S.....

Ordinance of the King.

Paris, April 17th, 1825.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.— Considering articles 14 and 73 of the Charter, desiring to provide for

what is called for by the interests of the French merchants, the misfortunes of the ancient colonies of St. Domingo, and the precarious situation of the present inhabitants of that island ;

We have ordained and ordain as follows :—

Art. 1. The ports of the French part of St. Domingo are open to the commerce of all nations.

The duties levied in the ports, either upon vessels or merchant-dize, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all flags except for the French flag, in favour of which these duties shall be reduced one-half.

2. The present inhabitants of the French part of St. Domingo shall pay into the *Caisse générale des Dépôts et des Consignations* of France, in five equal instalments, from year to year, the first of which will become due on the 31st of December 1825, the sum of 150,000,000 of francs, destined to indemnify the ancient colonists who shall claim an indemnity.

3. We grant, on these conditions, by the present ordinance, to the actual inhabitants of the French port of the island of St. Domingo, the full and entire independence of their government.

The present ordinance shall be sealed with the great seal.

Given at Paris, at the Palace of the Tuileries, the 17th of April, the year of grace 1825, and in the first of our reign.

By the King,

CHARLES,

The peer of France, minister secretary of state for the department of marine and colonies,

Sealed,

COUNT DE CHABROL.

The keeper of the seals of France, minister secretary of state for the department of justice,

Countersigned,

COUNT DE PEYRONNET.

The president of the council of ministers, M. DE VILLELE,

The report made to the King of France by his minister of marine, detailing the circumstances in which the

royal ordinance was tendered to the people of Hayti, and describing the manner in which it was received.

SIRE,

Since the disastrous events which in 1791 and 1792 produced the subversion of one of our most important colonies, and threatened to involve all the others in destruction, the different governments which succeeded each other had uniformly directed their attention to a valuable possession, the weight of which so greatly preponderated in the scale of French commerce.

At the period of the treaty of Amiens, preparations were made for a formidable expedition. Twenty ships of the line, twenty frigates, and a great number of transports, successively conveyed to our ports 50,000 men. The deplorable results of this expedition are well known, nor is it necessary to advert to the causes in which they originated. Whatever were the faults committed and the consequences they produced, it was evident to every wise and enlightened person, that of all the chances connected with an expedition of this kind, that of conquest was neither the only one nor perhaps even the most difficult to be obtained.

From that time, all relations were entirely broken off with this colony, from which every Frenchman was excluded by the severity of a sentence, dooming him to inevitable death.

At the auspicious period of the restoration, various attempts were made, either to obtain a renewal of relations favourable to our commerce, or to secure to former proprietors an indemnity for the losses they had sustained, or, by the ties of a protected, and at least external independence, to effect a re-union of the colony with its mother-country.

These attempts, however, were unproductive of success; but it was easy to perceive that the inveteracy of animosity was subsiding, that obliterated recollections were revived, that a more regular system of government prevailed, and that an opportunity offered for the renewal of relations accompanied with reciprocal, and mutually appreciated advantages.

These indications had been particularly conspicuous, since events had placed the supreme authority in the hands of the actual president, and substituted a system of protection, favourable to foreign and even to French commerce, for those measures of suspicion with which this island had so long associated the means of its safety.

Hence, several expeditions sailed for St. Domingo; but they were not admitted except under a borrowed flag, and subject to duties double those imposed upon the ships of more favoured nations.

Your majesty considered that such a state of things could no longer exist; that there was no alternative but to renounce all relations with this island, or to re-establish them upon a principle reciprocally recognized; and that it was essential to the dignity of the crown, that the commerce of France should, in no instance, be compelled to disclaim its flag, or to assume the colours of a foreign nation.

The wisdom of your majesty had also contemplated the new chances which the progressive course of events might introduce into the relations between the Old, and the New World, and you yourself, Sire, had perceived that delicate point, which, in affairs of high importance, is often exclusively peculiar, and almost always decisive.

Your majesty determined upon the measure contained in the ordinance of the 17th of April—To supply the exigences of French commerce by opening to it an advantageous market, to secure an indemnity to the former proprietors of St. Domingo, to put an end to the precarious state of the inhabitants of that island,—these were the motives which actuated your majesty. They were worthy, Sire, of your paternal heart, and of the powerful protection which you extend to all the interests of the country.

Your majesty had commissioned me to transmit this ordinance to the president of the government of St. Domingo, as the last condition on which you would consent to relinquish your rights of

sovereignty, and grant to this state the full and entire independence of its government.

At the same time that your majesty announced these noble and generous determinations, you ordered me to adopt every measure requisite to secure their accomplishment; and, persuaded that they would be received with the gratitude they deserved, you determined, Sire, that they should be accompanied with that display of power and dignity which becomes whatever emanates from a king of France.

According to the command of your majesty, Baron de Mackau, a captain in your majesty's fleet, and one of the gentlemen of your bed-chamber, who has been entrusted with the conveyance of this ordinance, sailed from Rochfort, the 14th of May, in the frigate *Circe*. His instructions were immediately to repair to Martinique, there to consult Lieutenant-General Count Donzelot, governor of that colony, and Rear-Admiral Jurien, commanding the naval station of your majesty, in the Antilles.

Rear-Admiral Jurien received, at the same time, orders to collect all the vessels dependent upon the station, in order that they might assemble at Port Royal the 15th or 20th of June; and Rear-Admiral Grivel, commanding the naval station of Brazil, was, at the same time, to repair to Martinique, and join the squadron of Rear-Admiral Jurien.

The *Medea*, which sailed from France about the middle of May, bound to the same place, arrived at Port Royal the 17th of June.

Your majesty had ordered me to keep in a complete state of preparation, and ready to sail at the first signal, four frigates, the *Amphitrite*, *Antigonus*, *Flora*, and *Galatea*, and to put into commission or state of provisional readiness, two ships, four frigates, and several light vessels. A few days would have been sufficient to place them in a complete state of readiness, to sail at the first order for any destination that might have been assigned to them.

Your majesty's intentions have been punctually executed with a precision not always attainable in expeditions depending on so many contingencies.

The squadron under Rear-Admiral Jurien, the 20th of June, consisted of the *Eylau*, of 80 guns, *Jean Bart*, 74, *Venus*, 24; the *Nymph*, *Themis*, *Magicienne*, *Medea*, *Circe*, and *Salamandre*, each of 18 guns; and five brigs of 10, 18, and 24 guns.

Baron Mackau, commander of the *Circe*, had orders to sail some days earlier than the squadron, which was not to appear near Port-au-Prince till it should have received notice.

This officer sailed from Martinique the 23d, with the *Circe* frigate, and the *Ruse* and *Bearnaise* brigs. He appeared off Port-au-Prince the 3d of July. The remainder of the squadron sailed from Port Royal the 27th of June. The reception given to Baron Mackau authorised him to expect the entire success of his mission. As soon as he appeared in sight, two officers came on board, and a suitable residence was assigned him at Port-au-Prince, as well as to the officers under him.

Conferences were immediately opened between him and three commissioners, appointed by the president of the government of Hayti, and as in three days they had led to no result, they were taken up by the president, to whose conciliatory intention Baron Mackau does full justice.

It was on the 8th of July, after some preliminary discussions, which were not without importance, but which were carried on with that spirit of conciliation which leads to the conclusion of affairs when there is a sincere wish to do so, that the president wrote to Baron Mackau, that after the explanations given him, and trusting in the good faith of the king, he accepted, in the name of the people of Hayti, the ordinance of your majesty, and that he was going to take the necessary steps to have it confirmed in the senate with due solemnity.

I must inform your majesty, that the president, before he took this resolution, thought it his duty to consult several members of the senate, and the principal officers of the island; that the difficulties which had arisen in the discussions were laid before them; that they all declared they would confide in the wisdom of the chief of the republic; that confidence in the word and generous

intentions of your majesty alone smoothed all obstacles, and that when Baron Mackau was introduced from the cabinet of the president into the hall, where all the principal officers were assembled, cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive le Dauphin de France! Vive la France!* were uttered with unanimous acclamation, and mingled with cries of the national independence which your majesty's ordinance had just proclaimed and recognized.

It was on the 11th of July that the senate was convoked, to proceed to the confirmation (*enterinement*) of the ordinance according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional laws of the country.

This day was a real holyday for the inhabitants of the island; the whole population had assembled in the squares and streets through which the procession was to pass. A numerous body of troops of the most martial appearance formed a double line from the sea-shore to the senate house. The squadron had been invited to enter the port. Baron Mackau, accompanied by Rear-Admirals Jurien and Grivel, and the officers of the squadron, bore, with the most solemn pomp, the ordinance of your majesty, which was saluted as it passed by all the guns of the ships with the unanimous acclamations of the people. When they reached the senate, where they were received with due respect and ceremony, the ordinance was confirmed in their presence. The *proces verbal* of this sitting and the speech of the president of the senate to your majesty's commissioners, leave no doubt of the unanimity of sentiment with which it was received, and the profound gratitude which it has excited in every heart.

It was amidst the cries of *Long live the King of France, long live his beloved son*, that the sitting broke up, and that a committee of the members was ordered to carry a report of the proceedings to the president of the republic.

From the day of this sitting till the 18th of July, when the squadron sailed, and to the 20th, when Baron Mackau quitted Port-au-Prince, there was a series of brilliant *fêtes*, and the joy manifested by the people proved that the benevolent intentions of

your majesty were felt and appreciated as you had a right to expect.

Baron Mackau has given a passage on board his vessel to three envoys who come to France to negotiate a loan to fulfil the conditions of the ordinance.

Sire, these same sentiments which have caused so much enthusiasm at two thousand leagues from our capital, in an island from which so many events seemed to divide us for ever, have manifested themselves in the same manner in the ports and maritime cities of your kingdom, which see sources of prosperity re-opened which they believed to be dried up. The ancient colonists, so long deprived of resources, and not preserving even the illusions of hope, will feel an unexpected relief. A fixed state, subject to all the rules of reciprocal attention and respect which civilization has introduced among nations, between which it forms the first basis of public law, will replace that precarious state which was not without danger to all European colonies.

I shall not terminate this report, Sire, without laying at your majesty's feet this expression of the devotedness of the commander, and of all the officers of his squadron. All were equally zealous punctually to execute your majesty's commands. The reports of Baron Mackau, which I have before me, will, I venture to hope, leave you no doubt that this officer has answered the confidence you placed in him. This mission, to make use of his own expression, on his conference with the president of Hayti, gave him the character of a soldier, and not of a diplomatist or a negotiator.

The frankness of his explanations, perfectly in harmony with that which the president never ceased to show from the first instant, I have no doubt smoothed many difficulties. I will venture to recommend him to your majesty's favour.

I am, with the most profound respect, Sire, your majesty's most humble and most faithful servant,

THE COUNT DE CHAMBRON.

Royal Ordinances.

1. Promotes Baron Mackau to the rank of rear-admiral.

2. Appoints a commission to propose—1st, the mode of the claims to be made by the ancient colonists or their representatives; 2d, the bases and the means of distributions of the sums assigned to them.

The members of the commission are—The Duke of Levis, peer of France, minister of state, president; the Marquis de Barbe Marbois, Viscount Laine, Count de Segur, peers of France; Count Begouen, honorary counsellor of state; Sieur Pardissus, member of the chamber of deputies; Sieur Gautier, ditto; Sieur Levesque, ditto; Count Alexander de la Borde; Colonel Count Galifel; Sieur Harnet, member of the colonial council.

Proclamation to the People and to the Army.

Haytians!—A long oppression had pressed upon Hayti. Our courage and our heroic efforts snatched it twenty-two years ago from the degradation which oppressed it, to place it in the scale of independent nations. But there was wanting to our glory another triumph. The French flag, in coming to salute this land of liberty, consecrates the legitimacy of our emancipation. It was reserved for that monarch, as great as he is religious, who governs France, to signalize his accession to the throne by an act of justice, which dignifies at once the throne from which it emanates, and the country which is the object of it.

Haytians!—A special decree of his Majesty Charles X., dated the 17th of April last, recognizes the full and entire independence of your government. This authentic act, in adding the formality of right to the political existence which you had already acquired, will legalize in the eyes of the world the rank in which you had placed yourselves, and to which Providence had called you.

Citizens!—Commerce and agriculture are about to extend themselves. The arts and sciences, which delight in peace, will hasten to embellish your new destinies with all the benefits of civilization.

Continue, by your attachment to the national institutions, and above all, by your union, to inflict despair on those who would attempt to disturb you in the just and peaceable possession of your rights.

Soldiers !—You have deserved well of your country. Under all circumstances you have been ready to fight in her defence. You will be ever faithful to your duties. The confidence of which you have given such proofs to the chief of the state is the sweetest recompense of the anxiety he has felt for the prosperity and glory of the republic.

Haytians !—Show yourselves always worthy of the honourable situation which you hold among nations ; and more happy than your sires, who could transmit to you but a dreadful lot, you will bequeath to your posterity the most delightful inheritance which it is possible to desire—concord at home and peace abroad, a country prosperous and respected.

Given at the national palace of Port-au-Prince, the 11th day of July, 1825, in the 22d year of independence.

By the president,

BOYER.

The secretary-general,

B. INGINAC.

Reflections on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Navigation and Commerce, between the United States and the Republic of Colombia.

(Extracted from the Constitutionel)

Montesquieu quotes two beautiful examples of treaties ; the prohibition by which Alexander forbade the Bactrians to give their aged fathers to be eaten by great dogs ; and the treaty of Gelon, who, having defeated three hundred thousand Carthaginians, imposed upon them, as a condition of peace, the abolition of the custom sanctioning the immolation of children at the altars of their gods ; thus stipulating both for humanity and the Carthaginians.

From times thus remote, to the present period, the interest of mankind and the general welfare of nations have seldom been subjects of deliberation in congresses and diplomatic assemblies. Ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary have always drawn up the patent stipulations and secret articles of treaties in favour of the power by which their authority was delegated, and, in too many instances, in opposition to the interests of the people.

All begin with these words :—" There shall be henceforth and *perpetually*, an inviolable peace, a sincere union, and a perfect friendship between such and such princes ; such and such governments." But these perfect friendships, these sincere unions, these inviolable treaties of peace, which have never been subscribed without an appeal to the most Holy Trinity, are generally broken in the course of a few years.

But new times, new stipulations, a different language, and the example of former ages are introduced by the New World. We have given a brief extract of the treaty between the republic of Colombia and the United States of America. The forms of this treaty and the stipulations which it contains are worthy of being proposed, as subjects of meditation, to the diplomatists and moralists of ancient Europe. We will retrace its principal heads.

This treaty of peace, friendship, navigation and commerce, is made in the name of God, the Author and Legislator of the universe.

The two contracting nations, desiring to render permanent the good understanding existing between them, have commissioned their plenipotentiaries to establish its basis in a clear, distinct, and positive

manner. The ancient policy of the Romans avoided these clear and distinct expressions, which leave no door open to perfidy; it possessed the art of introducing into all their treaties insidious clauses, calculated to prepare for the ruin of the state which observed them. The policy of the middle ages, and the modern policy, which is only the development of the former, have also introduced into their treaties those equivocal expressions, those secret articles, which invariably, according to the influence of its interests or passions, supply bad faith with pretences for the violation of its engagements. How justly is the tribute of honour due to those nations of America, whose promises are sincere, whose language is the faithful interpreter of their thoughts and sentiments.

The desire of the United States and the republic of Colombia to live in a state of mutual peace and friendship, is not confined to themselves; their philanthropy extends to all nations, and founds the expectation of its accomplishment upon sincere policy equally friendly to every country.

The alliance of the United States and Colombia is all peace and friendship, excluding whatever is hostile to other nations. One of the contracting parties is not bound to support the quarrels of the other; and the party engaged in war imposes no restriction, upon that which is in a state of peace, prohibiting its friendly relations even with the power hostile to its ally. The navigation is to continue free; the Colombian ships, those of the United States, have permission to sail from any port whatever, to places subject to a power at war with the northern Americans, or with the Colombians, and to go not only from these to

other places subject to the same power, but also to neutral countries. Blockaded ports and besieged places are alone excepted; but by a place besieged or blockaded is to be understood, that place only which is attacked by a force sufficiently powerful to prevent any other having access to it. All ships having entered the port before the siege shall be at liberty to leave it, together with their cargoes; every ship in the port after the surrender of the place shall have also permission to leave it with its cargo.

Free vessels make free goods, even when those goods belong in part, or entirely, to the enemies of either power. The same liberty extends to persons on board free ships, even when those persons belong to countries at war with one of the two contracting parties, unless those goods should consist of arms, ammunition, accoutrements, military dress; or unless those persons be soldiers in the effective service of the enemy.

Thus two great principles are recognized: one, that the flag protects the goods; the other, as J. J. Rousseau says, that "war is not a relation between man and man, but a relation between state and state, in which individuals are enemies accidentally only, not as men, but as citizens or soldiers; not as members of a country, but as its defenders."

The right of search at sea shall be exercised only in respect to vessels sailing without convoy. Ships carrying arms, ammunition, or warlike stores, shall not be detained on that account, if they deliver up the contraband goods to the ships by which they are captured. The captain or the crew of the vessel searched shall not be compelled to go on board the vessel by which the search is made; the latter shall not be

within cannon shot, and shall send his sloop, with two or three men only, to examine the papers and cargo.

But in respect to ships under convoy, the verbal declaration of the commander of the convoy, on his word of honour, that the ships under his protection belong to the nation whose flag they carry, shall be sufficient to exempt them from being searched. If the convoy is bound for an enemy's port, the word of the commander, that they have no contraband articles of war, shall be equally sufficient. The Americans have been convinced, that the inconvenience produced by an act of perjury, is not commensurate with the advantage of raising the moral character of man, by teaching him the respect due to the rights and word of his fellow being.

The principle that the flag protects the goods, is applicable to those powers only who recognize the same principle; but it depends on England to make it the law of nations: it would be worthy the political wisdom of Mr. Canning, to convert this article of the American treaty into a bill for the discussion of the English parliament. Hitherto, treaties of peace have stipulated what is to be done, and what ought to be the conduct of nations towards each other, when hostilities cease. The negociators of Colombia and the United States have raised their thoughts to more generous considerations: foreseeing the consequences of a rupture between the two states, they have beforehand adjusted the interests of the citizens and of each respective country. Six months are allowed to the merchants residing on the coasts and in the ports, and a year to those residing in the interior, for the settling of their accounts and the conveyance of their effects

to any place they may think proper: citizens exercising professions, and established in the territory of either state, shall be protected in the full enjoyment of their property, their industry and their personal liberty. The stock or capital they may possess in private banks or in public funds, shall be neither confiscated nor sequestrated.

Lastly, the wisdom of the Americans has resisted the vanity which attempts to render for ever fixed and stable, that which, like the events of the world, and the progress of civilization, is, in its nature, variable and unstable. The treaty is not permanent or perpetually obligatory, in respect to what relates to the friendship and the general rights of nations; in whatever has a reference to commerce and to navigation, its duration is limited to twelve years.

There is one article in this treaty which infers the continuance of one of the most degrading scourges ever bequeathed by African barbarism to the nations of Europe, and which the latter have introduced into America: we allude to piracy. According to the twenty-second article, the citizens of Colombia and those of the United States shall not, under pain of being considered as pirates, accept letters of marque to assist a power which is at war with one of the contracting parties: this, however, does not forbid their accepting them from any other power.

Piracy is armed theft, authorized theft, unpunished theft: but still it is theft, it is still the war of individuals against individuals; it is an act repugnant to sound policy, to morals, and humanity.

This kind of theft is too often preceded by murder; and generally, the first act of the captors, in order to

secure possession of the money, goods and ships they unjustly seize, is to massacre the proprietor.

The most civilized people are not those among whom the sciences and the arts have attained the highest degree of cultivation; but those who have enacted the wisest laws, who possess the most correct ideas of the rights of nations, who have established the empire of justice and who enforce respect to the claims of humanity. Thus contemplated, the youth of nations resembles that of individuals; it is better than their old age; and hence there is less of barbarism in America than in Europe. She still owes to us two great lessons, the abolition of the slave trade and the abolition of piracy, without, or with letters of marque.

WAR AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

Persuaded that the enemies of the independence of the New World were subdued, and that the most anxious solicitude of the Americans, 'after the conquest of their liberty, was the attainment of peace, we flattered ourselves two months ago, that the effusion of blood had ceased, from the moment their rights seemed sufficiently protected against future invasion. It appears, however, that we indulged the illusion of a deceptive hope. One of the new republics, whose policy, in the appreciation of human life, attaches to it a much less degree of value than ourselves, is of opinion, that its sacrifice is justified by the most frivolous and unimportant interests. Since the publication of the last Number, an insurrection has taken place at Monte Video, from the circumstances of which, it is sufficiently evident, that the government of Buenos Ayres was implicated in this event, and that it was assuming an attitude of hostility against its neighbour, the emperor of Brazil. Severe recriminations, the sudden renewal of relinquished claims, and the cries of war, in the midst of the most profound peace, are the confirmations of this statement. The issue of the event will unquestionably soon determine on which side the aggression originated; and it is very probable that the whole blame will be imputed to the vanquished party.

This unaccountable rupture, on the banks of La Plata, will undoubtedly have suggested many reflections; we shall confine ourselves to one, and then enter upon a statement of facts. If the hostility of Buenos Ayres is isolated, and has no extent beyond that of a local interest; in other words, if it is limited to Monte Video, it may be pronounced an act of the most decided frenzy; for in politics, *right* must never be contradicted by fact; but, in this instance, the fact which arises from the superiority of the Brazilian forces is unquestionable. If, on the contrary, the insurrection of Monte Video supported by Buenos-Ayres, is only a first aggression in a series forming a general attack, directed by all the states of America against the existence of the Brazilian monarchy, it is evident, that an undertaking of this nature may reduce the whole of America to a state of chaos, and plunge it into an abyss of inextricable difficulties. However founded or unfounded this conjecture, there is, we trust, no fallacy in the expectation, that nations whom experience has taught wisdom, and the Liberator, whose judgment is incapable of being deceived, will repel the suggestions of particular interests or individual discontent, and direct their united efforts to the general welfare of the great American family.

The following are the facts that have led to these reflections, which are only introductory to the subject relating to the war in Monte Video, and to which, should subsequent events require it, we shall direct our attention.

On the 6th of May, three hundred men from Buenos Ayres, having landed upon the eastern coasts of La Plata, surprised a party of two hundred Brazilian

horsemen, and also some imperial detachments, who were compelled to abandon Maldonado and other advanced posts. The insurgents joined by some disaffected men, were under the command of Laballeja. A short time after, the forces placed under the command of General Frutuozo Rivero, a native of Monte Video, in the service of Brazil, * passed over with the

* The following account, therefore of one of the principal leaders of the insurrection may be acceptable.

Frutuozo Rivera was in the service of Artigas; and when the fortunes of this chieftain were declining, he entered the Brazilian service as colonel, and was afterwards promoted to the rank of brigadier, and decorated with orders of distinction. He has now deserted from the latter service, not for want of pay, which was punctually received, but through the intrigue and seduction of a certain person, whose name, as he is still behind the curtain, will be disclosed in proper time. During the period that Frutuozo Rivera continued in the Brazilian service, circumstances obliged him to make known his own personal opinions, which were published at Rio de Janeiro. From a collection of papers printed at that capital, the following selections have been made.

The first is a proclamation to the troops under his command, when they proclaimed the emperor of Brazil at Colonia do Sacramento, on the 17th of October, 1822:—

“Soldiers!—Twelve years of war, fatal to our political emancipation, have brought us to the precipice of ruin, with as much haste as we expressed eagerness to obtain it. This result was to have been expected; the smallness of our territory, the scantiness of our means, and various other causes that should have been foreseen, have opposed our efforts, and our blood has been wasted to the most useless purpose. The remedy for so many evils and misfortunes has been learned by experience; we needed the support

general to the disaffected party, whose force was then increased to two thousand men. The united insurgents attacked the fortress, but were vigorously repulsed by the garrison under the command of General Lecor, in

of a strong power, our neighbour, to enable us to suppress ambitious and anarchical men, who wished to augment their own fortunes and power, even at the expense of our misery and annihilation, when our existence is certainly more valuable than that of these fratricides. If they do all they can to favour their personal interest, is it not just that we should exert every effort to tranquillize at once our beloved country?

"Soldiers!—Confirming now our wishes for twelve years past, shout with me, 'Long live our holy religion! Long live the independence of Brazil, and of this Cispatine State (Banda Oriental!) Long live, &c. &c.

"FRUTUOZO RIVERA."

On the 7th of January, 1823, being still a Colonel, and being invited by Don Alvaro da Castra, the last European Portuguese general at Monte Video, to abandon the Brazilian service and to enter that of the king of Portugal, he, in his reply, said—"To place this country (Banda Oriental) under the protection of a strong and liberal neighbouring government for its protection and security from the influence of those whose personal ambition and projects would urge it to the same misery, poverty, and ruin which it lately suffered, and to give it that peace and tranquillity necessary to restore its prosperity, I and my officers will constantly labour. For this desirable object, this regiment will continue in this part of the imperial government, even without pay, which is not now wanting.

"ANOIO DA VIRGEM,

"FRUTUOZO RIVERA."

Some days after, it was published at Monte Video, that he was engaged in negotiations with Don Alvaro. To do away that suspicion, he published the following declaration:—

a sortie ordered by him, on the 7th, that is, immediately after the appearance of the enemy.

Monte Video, defended by two thousand good troops, six hundred cavalry, and a small squadron commanded by Admiral Labo, not only resisted this unfore-

"It having been rumoured at Monte Video, that I and my comrades were negotiating with the commanders of the Portuguese troops to desert to their side, and as that rumour reflects dishonour on me and my officers, it is my duty to declare to the people of Monte Video, that I will never abandon the resolution I have embraced of adhering to the Brazilian empire; and that, with my troops, I will support the Baron Laguna (Brazilian General.)

"F. RIVERA."

In the following May, the mayor and corporation of Monte Video, being still under Portuguese dominion, sent him a pressing letter, inviting him to declare himself in favour of the Portuguese; to which he, in the next month, made a long reply, from which this extract is made:—

"These reasons induce me to advocate the union of these states to the confederation of the Brazilian empire. They will be attached to a great American nation, under a constitutional and representative government. It has promulgated the great chart that will guarantee the rights and liberty of the (Banda Oriental) people, defending them from foreign invasions, and delivering them from internal convulsions.

"The principle which your excellency cites, that a people who wishes to be free must be so sooner or later, is a theory only applicable to great states; for to be independent, it is not only necessary to wish it; but also to be able to maintain it. A small province that has just emerged from anarchy, without population, intelligence, resources, and arms, will sink under its own independence. Neither your excellency nor any one who thinks correctly, is igno-

seen attack; but without difficulty drove the insurgents from all the exterior points which they then possessed. The news of this aggression reached Rio Janeiro the 17th of June. The emperor convened

rant that the liberty of a people consists in being happy; and those that are not happy, are not free, although they may call themselves independent; that the Banda Oriental, as independent, would always be the theatre of war, in the dissensions between Brazil and the provinces of the Rio de la Plata; that the sister provinces could never save this territory and our possessions from the incursion of its neighbours, (for your excellency affirms that the Spanish government, with all its power could not prevent it;) that the independence of a small province by the side of a great nation is always doubtful; and finally, that Spain has renounced her pretensions to America; that her armies are victorious in Upper Peru; that the civil war which desolates every thing in the provinces of Chili, Mendoza, Salta, Turcuman, and Cordova, has removed every obstruction to the Spanish arms; and that protection from the empire is the only means of saving this province from revolution and the grasp of the ancient metropolis.

“The remunerations your excellency speaks of, to one who is solicitous for the true happiness of his country, are very insignificant objects. If my country be saved from war, and anarchy, and if it be happy, and enjoy those precious gifts of nature, liberty, and independence, I shall be content with whatever condition, not aspiring to fortune, but to glory alone.

“I have dwelled longer on this, to prevent any other invitations from your excellency, and to shew the people how such libels should be rejected, where the honour of our best fellow-citizens is assailed, as if the radicals were capable of bending me from the paths of patriotism, and seducing the people from the way to public happiness.

a council of state, and gave immediate instructions to organize an expedition, for the purpose of effecting the re-establishment of order in the revolted province. The resolution adopted by the court to oppose force

"As it regards the rest, when your excellency shall be free from party influence, and will do justice to my sentiments, and listen to the voice of reason, then I shall be pleased to co-operate with your excellency in securing happiness to the country.

"FRUTUOZO RIVERA"

"Encampment of Petras, June 19, 1823.

"To the most Excellent Cabildo of Monte-Video."

When the government at Rio de Janeiro was informed of these royal sentiments, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier, and received the insignia of an order.

On receiving these, he wrote to the emperor his own sentiments in the following manner, and sent his own brother, Bernabe Rivera, to present his congratulation:—"Highly grateful for the honourable distinctions conferred on me by your majesty, notwithstanding the smallness of my services, I testify my sense of this honour by sending my brother, Captain Bernabe Rivera, to express to your majesty my sentiments of gratitude, loyalty, and love to your august person.

"I have the pleasure to present, at the same time, like sentiments from the officers and privates of the regiment which I command.

"I beg of your majesty that they may be favourably received; and that the union of these states may be preserved by your power. This is the wish of the people who found on the great character of your imperial majesty the hopes of their future happiness.—Your imperial majesty's most humble servant,

"FRUTUOZO RIVERA."

"Brigadier of the Imperial army."

December 22, 1823, Petras.

to force, received from the administrations, the army, and all classes of his majesty's subjects, universal approbation; and eleven days after, a first division of two thousand men, with arms of every description, sailed for Monte Video. The troops, at the moment of their embarkation, were received by the emperor, accompanied by the empress. "Comrades," said his majesty to the soldiers, "the integrity of the empire is threatened in the province of Monte Video; let us march to defend it;" the words, the cries of *vive l'empereur! vive l'impératrice*, were heard in all directions, and an order of the day expressing the satisfaction of the emperor, having been read to the army composing the expedition, it embarked and sailed for its place of destination. We will give an account, in our next Number, of the military events consequent upon the arrival of these troops.

On the other hand, the government of Buenos Ayres was adopting measures, apparently defensive, but the real character of which, the result will soon determine. The following is the message addressed to the legislative power, and the resolution adopted by the latter:—

Buenos-Ayres, 9th May, 1825.

A war has commenced in the eastern part of the provinces of Rio de la Plata; this event, together with the nature of the conflict, makes it necessary that the executive should be prepared for the consequences it may produce, and which threaten as well the tranquillity of the state as the security of its frontiers. For this reason, we think it of the greatest importance to make an addition to the military force of Uruguay of a sufficient number of troops. To accomplish this object, the present situation of the country demands, in this instance, the co-operation of congress,

in order that the several provinces of the union may be induced to send the troops that can be spared from the service of the interior, placing them at the disposition of the executive.

The executive expects that the resolutions of congress, on a matter of such importance to the nation, will have the most decided effect; with this view the present communication is made, and in the hope that it will be looked upon as very pressing.

The executive salutes the representatives of the nation with respect.

JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS HERAS.

MANUEL JOSE GARCIA.

Having seen the foregoing note, the congress, in its sitting of the 11th, sanctioned the following project of a law presented by the military committee.

Art. 1. The government of the province of Buenos Ayres is authorised, as being provisionally charged with the executive power, to see to the defence and security of the state, and it is recommended to it particularly to re-enforce, for the present, the military force of Uruguay, to be prepared for the events that may be produced by the war, which has commenced in the eastern parts of Rio de la Plata.

2. To accomplish this object, and in consideration of its urgency and importance to the nation, and until the complete organization of a standing army, the executive, in the name of congress, will stir up the zeal and patriotism of the governments of the several provinces, that they may be urged to place at its disposition, without any delay, all the troops that are not wanted for the interior service of the said provinces.

3. With the same view the governments of the provinces will be invited to assist the executive with a part of their military to strengthen the line of troops.

4. It is also recommended to the governments of the said provinces to send as quickly as possible, all the recruits that can be procured, that they may be immediately instructed and sent to the frontiers.

5. The recruits that may be had will be considered as making part of the standing army, agreeably to a law passed for its formation.

6. The chief or chiefs under whose charge the executive will place this military force, shall not interfere with the internal government of the province of Entre Rios, or any other where the army may be stationed; and should the said chief or chiefs wish any assistance, it is to be obtained only through the government of the province.

7. For the present, and until congress can attend to the measures to be taken for the maintenance of the troops, the executive is authorised to request the legislature of the province of Buenos-Ayres, to advance the funds that are indispensably necessary to carry into effect these pressing measures.

In consequence, a note was addressed to the government of the province of Entre-Rios, desiring the legislature to authorise the expenses necessary for the purpose of strengthening their line of defence, to be taken from the funds of the province. The government of Entre-Rios has replied that the most prompt means shall be adopted to carry this measure into effect.

News from Potosi communicate information to which we attach no credit; but which, under the present circumstances, is not unworthy the attention of our readers. The following account is from this town, dated the 29th of May.

Potosi, May 25.

All is quiet here. The only thing in the shape of news that I have to communicate is, that the Brazilians have invaded Chiquitos, their advanced posts being within forty leagues of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. General Sucre thinks of sending an expedition, not only to drive the Portuguese from the Peruvian territory, but to

conquer as much of Brazil as possible. Four hundred men have already marched from Chuquisaca to Santa Cruz, where they will join six hundred more, under the orders of Colonel Vidile. We have ten thousand good troops, perfectly equipped and armed, on this side of the Desaguadero; and it is not improbable that two or three thousand will penetrate into Brazil, and be enabled, perhaps, to cause a favourable diversion, should the Buenos Ayres government commence hostilities against the Emperor's forces occupying the Banda Oriental. Nothing, however, will be decided until the Liberator arrives. He must have made his entrance into Arequipa on the 18th inst., and we expect him here the latter end of next month, or at the beginning of the following.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN PERU.

After the defeat of the Spanish army, under the command of La Serna, in the plains of Ayacucho, the only troops that could still fight in the cause of Ferdinand were the corps of Olaneta. This general, whose treacherous protestations had for a short time deceived the American patriots, respecting his real intentions, but whose only reason for separating from the Spanish troops opposed to Bolivar, originated in his jealousy of the other royalist chiefs, and in the fanaticism of his zeal for absolute power, had, for twelve months, retired from the scene of war, and confined himself to the occupation of the positions on the confines of the provinces of Buenos Ayres. Immediately after Peru was restored to tranquillity, the Liberator declared his intention to march against this remnant of Spanish tyranny. General Sucre marched upon Potosi, the head quarters of General Olaneta, who abandoned them on the 26th of April, was pursued by a column of the independent

army, overtaken near Tumula, by Colonel Medina Celi, defeated and mortally wounded. In consequence of this victory, there now remained in the country only one corps of three hundred royalists, under the command of Colonel Waldes, who has since surrendered by capitulation.

This happy event produced the following communications between General Sucre and the government of Buenos Ayres.

LIBERATING ARMY.

Extract from a despatch to the President of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, &c.

Head-quarters, Potosi, April 6.

It is highly satisfactory to me to be the organ of the liberating army in felicitating the people of La Plata on the installation of their general government. That event is of immense importance to their national prosperity, and the troops experience from it all that gratification which the welfare of their brethren is capable of communicating. On the 29th of March I entered this city; and to the satisfaction of occupying the last capital in which Spanish thralldom was felt, I had to add the pleasure of learning that the congress of the United Provinces had met.

General Olaneta, who evacuated this place on the 28th ult., had a rencontre with one of our columns on the 1st instant. Being completely routed and wounded, he died on the 2d. A wretched corps of 300 men, straggling and flying, is all that now molests the country, and it will be destroyed in a few weeks by the forces which are pursuing it in every direction. In consequence of these fortunate events, our communications with your province are open; and I am happy to have the opportunity of performing the agreeable duty of congratulating you and the illustrious people over whom you preside, on the termination of the

war of independence. * * * * * Having, on my part, exterminated with the liberating army the last remains of the Peninsular tyranny, and as it belongs not to me, as an auxiliary soldier, to interfere in domestic affairs, I consider my commission concluded; and as my military duties call me to the spot where the great body of the army is, I shall accordingly, at the end of this month, proceed to the other side of the Desaguadero, leaving strong garrisons in these provinces, in order to avert from them the evils which the spirit of party and ambition might produce, until the Liberator arrive and take upon himself the management of their affairs. I have the honour, &c.

ANTONIO JOSE DE SUCRE.

The greatest preparations were making, at the end of May, to reduce by force the castle of Callão.

The squadron of Guayaquil had completed its repairs, and was on the point of sailing. Two thousand two hundred Colombian troops had left this port, with two national corvettes, a sixty gun frigate, and two eighteen gun schooners, to assist in the bombardment. The squadron of Chili and two ships of war, from Colombia, were in view from Callao, waiting for the arrival of re-enforcements, to commence operations. The fortress was closely blockaded on the land side by the troops of President Bolivar, who had determined, at all events, to carry it by storm; and, considering that the surrender of this place was comprised in the capitulation concluded at Ayacucho, between General Canterac, commander in chief of the Spanish army, and General Sucre, commander in chief of the liberating army, and that consequently the governor of Callão, by refusing to conform to it, had forfeited his right to be treated according to the law

of nations:—the president published the following proclamation.

1st. The enemies who occupy the fortress of Callão shall be considered as having separated themselves from the Spanish nation, and all other nations.

2d. They are, with respect to the republic, cut off from the rights of nations.

3d. All vessels, their captains, supercargoes, or owners, who shall in any manner afford assistance to the fortress of Callão, shall be prohibited from entering any of the ports of the republic.

4th. All persons who, by land, render aid in any manner to the said fortress, shall suffer capital punishment.

5th. All persons are excepted from the second article who, complying with their duty as capitulated Spaniards, in good faith fulfil the compact to which they are legitimately subject.

6th. A copy of this decree shall be sent to the commanders of all forces belonging to the neutral powers stationed in the Pacific.

Sucre, the commander of the Colombian force, had forwarded to the president, as a testimony of the attachment felt for him by the army, five standards belonging to the oldest of those Spanish regiments which for fourteen years had borne arms against the independence of Peru. Among them was the individual standard with which Pizarro, three hundred years before, had entered the capital of the Incas.

Some unfortunate misunderstanding having taken place between the government and the vice admiral of the united squadron, it was decreed by a council of war held on the 7th ult., that the latter should present himself before his excellency the Liberator, as the

supreme authority of Peru, to render an account of his conduct, and he has accordingly set out for this purpose by way of Cuença. The naval command has been given in the mean time to Captain John Illingworth, of the *Protector* frigate, which ship (when called the *Prueba*, and commanded by Spaniards) he beat off, when in command of the merchant ship *Rosa*, of inferior force, off the coast of Choco.

MEXICO.

Mexico has just witnessed one of the most fortunate events that could happen to the cause of independence; an event which, whilst it weakens the Spaniards, gives an additional accession of power to their enemies. In consequence of the capitulation of the Spanish fleet, the Mexicans have acquired two ships of war which, by doubling the gulph of Mexico, will be sufficient to blockade the fortress of St. Jean d'Ulloa. This the Mexican government had not been able to effect, because it was in treaty with the United States for a naval force intended for this blockade.

The following are the documents which authenticate this capitulation.

To the Minister of War and Marine.

Sir,

I have the honour to announce to your excellency that, at six this evening, the *Asia*, of sixty-eight guns, and the brig *La Constance*, both Spanish ships of war, anchored in this port. On the 1st of May, they placed themselves at the disposal of their commander Don Jose Martinez, captain of a frigate, who addressed to me a despatch from the commander general of the said place, and a copy of the capitulation into which he entered. He has

communicated to me all the circumstances which preceded this event, and of which I send you a copy.

I address to your excellency all these interesting documents, and congratulate myself upon communicating to you events which so much contribute to the happiness of all nations. God and liberty."

(Signed)

MANUEL VICTORIA.

I have the honour to announce to your excellency, that on the 27th of April the *St. Geronimo*, otherwise called *Asia*, and the brig *La Constance*, both belonging to the squadron destined for Callao from Lima, anchored in this bay (Monterey). These ships, with their commanders, troops, and crews, capitulated on the 1st of this month. They are to be delivered up to the Mexican nation, as your excellency will see by the annexed document.

Luis Antonio Arguello, political and military governor of Acapulco, who signs this despatch of the 21st of May, 1825, at Monterey, Upper California, relates the particulars which obliged the two ships to sail under the colours which he describes; he also announces that the second pilot, Don Juan Malarin, has received orders to repair immediately to the capital, in order to deliver to the supreme government the despatches of the military commanders.

The documents 2 and 3 contain the representation of the Spanish commander, respecting the difficulties of the position, and the circumstances and considerations which induced him, as well as the individuals under his orders, to submit to the authority of the Mexican government, and to swear to preserve its independence.

Inclosed is the capitulation concluded between the commanders of the *Asia*, lieutenant Don Jose Martinez, the troops and his crew, on one part, and the governor Don Luis Antonio Arguello, captain of cavalry and military commander of the territory belonging to the United States of Mexico, on the other part.

Article 1st, Don Jose Martinez surrenders to the government of the united states of Mexico the ships *Asia*, as well as the provisions and amunition; and also the brig *La Constance*, which separated the 6th of April for a short time, but which, should no other misfortune happen to it, shall be comprehended in this capitulation, as if the two ships were one.

2. The governor, in consideration of the surrender of the vessels, promises for the safety of the individuals on board, and their property, privileges, immunity and safe conduct, throughout the whole federation. He also secures to them their individual liberty according to the laws, by submitting to their execution.

3. Don Jose Martinez, commander in chief of the two ships, with the officers, ships and crews, offer immediately to take an oath of allegiance to the independent states. Those individuals shall be exempt from this condition who may desire to return to the Peninsula, or to any other part of the Spanish possessions; and the Mexican government shall supply them with the means necessary to enable them to quit its territory, and reach such places, as they may think proper to determine.

4. The governor shall appoint commissaries to enforce the articles of the present convention, and shall, at the same time, adopt the necessary measures for the departure of the said ships, in order to place them at the disposal of the government of the United States of Mexico.

5. The supreme government of the United States of Mexico shall pay to the crews of the two ships whatever is due to them from the Spanish government since their departure from Spain, agreeably to the accounts to be presented by the purser of the ship; and they shall receive this payment the more promptly in consequence of their voluntary surrender to the Mexican states.

6. Passports, to secure safety in travelling, shall be delivered to the individuals who have capitulated and who desire to remain in the country, or to go to any part not dependent upon America. It shall be declared in these passports, that the bearers form a part of those who surrendered the ship *Asia*.

7. The interpretations to which the present treaty may give place shall be in favour of the capitulating party.

8. The execution of this capitulation shall depend upon the good faith of the two contracting parties. Four copies shall be ratified and approved, two of which shall remain in the hands of each contracting party, in order to secure its perfect execution.

Executed in the fortress of Monterey, May 21st, 1825.

(Signed)

JOSÉ ESTRADA.

JOSÉ RAMIREZ.

JOSE DE CARDENAS.

ANTONIO VENTURA ROTETA.

Confirmed and ratified in all its particulars.

LUIS ANTONIO ARGUELLO JOSE MARTINEZ.

His Excellency, the president of the United States of Mexico, animated with the most lively satisfaction at an event which so much contributes to the security, the independence and the honour of the Mexican nation, has approved in all its particulars, the above written capitulation.

The Mexican secretary of war, Manuel de Mier y Teran, in his report upon the opening of the session of congress, reports that the naval depot be removed from San Blas to Acapulco. His estimate for the expenditure of one year, for the increase of the navy, amounts to 2,934,533 dollars. He recommends the building of two sloops of 13 guns each, seven gun boats, five balandras, two frigates of 44 guns each, three corvettes of 36, and two brigs of 20 guns. This force must be destined for the Pacific Ocean.

COLOMBIA.

Fresh disorders have taken place in the province of Pasto, which not long since was in a state of revolt.

Some of the insurgents who, after the re-establishment of tranquillity in this province, had taken refuge in the mountains, have since disturbed the neighbouring country by their depredations. It appears, however, that the local authorities have sufficient power to subdue these brigands, the executive having revoked the decree in virtue of which this province has been placed under martial law.

General Pedro Briceno Mendez has resigned his situation as secretary of war and of the marine, which has been accepted by the executive. A decree, issued from government, dated the 2nd instant, states, "that while the executive cannot refuse assent to the justness of the reason assigned by the general for resigning, it is with feelings of great regret that they see the government and the republic deprived of his experience and talents in a situation in which, during the long period he filled it, he rendered important services to the country."

By a subsequent decree published, the general of division, Charles Soublotte, intendant-commandant-general of the Magdalena, is appointed secretary of war, and that of marine; and during the interval which may elapse before the general takes possession of his office, his various duties are to be performed by the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

The letters from the Havannah of the 24th of June, relate, as the *Etoile* says, that an insurrection broke out at Matanzas on the 14th of that month, that several plantations rose at once, and from 1,000 to 1,200 negroes proceeded to others that were at a distance, armed with muskets, pistols, and sabres. From twenty to twenty-five whites, proprietors or factors, unfortu-

nately almost all Frenchmen, were killed at the beginning, and several others wounded. But on the first alarm, the whites, united by the sense of their common danger, the only ground of the tranquillity of Cuba, amidst the passions which ferment in it, and the revolutions which surround it, rose in a body, and hastened on all sides against the revoltors; from one hundred and fifty to two hundred negroes were killed on the spot. Pursuit is making in the woods after the fugitives. Order is completely restored.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

The two houses of parliament were prorogued the 6th of July, not by his majesty in person, but by commission. The following is the prorogation speech read by the lord chancellor:—

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“The business of the session being now brought to a conclusion, we are commanded by his Majesty to express the great satisfaction which he feels in releasing you from your laborious attendance in parliament.

“His Majesty returns you his warmest acknowledgments for the zeal and assiduity with which you have prosecuted the inquiries into the state of Ireland, which he recommended to you at the opening of the session.

“It is a particular gratification to his Majesty that the tranquillity and improved condition of that part of the United Kingdom have rendered the extraordinary powers with which you had invested his Majesty no longer necessary for the public safety.

“His Majesty is happy to be able to announce to you, that he receives from all foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country, and of their desire to maintain the general peace.

“While his Majesty regrets the continuance of the war in the East Indies with the Burmese government, he trusts that the gallant exertions of the British and native forces, employed in operations in the enemy's territory, may lead to a speedy and satisfactory termination of the contest.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“We have it in command from his Majesty to thank you for the supplies which you have granted to him for the service of the present year, and at the same time, to express the satisfaction which he derives from the reduction you have found it practicable to make in the burthens of his people.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that he is highly sensible of the advantages which must result from the measures you have adopted, in the course of this session, for extending the commerce of his subjects by the removal of unnecessary and inconvenient restrictions, and from the beneficial relaxations which you have deemed it expedient to introduce into the colonial system of this country.

"These measures his Majesty is persuaded, will evince to his subjects in those distant possessions the solicitude with which parliament watches over their welfare; they tend to cement and consolidate the interests of the colonies with those of the mother-country; and his Majesty confidently trusts that they will contribute to promote that general and increasing prosperity on which his Majesty had the happiness of congratulating you on the opening of the present session, and which, by the blessing of providence, continues to pervade every part of his kingdom.

The day preceding the last sitting of the house of commons, Mr. Canning replied to a question put, in the preceding evening, during his absence, by Mr. Baring, who asked why an envoy from Buenos Ayres had not been presented to his majesty. He had observed, that this conduct, on the part of the English government, was to be attributed to the interference of certain foreign powers. Mr. Canning repelled this assertion as false, because no power had interfered, nor would probably interfere, in future, in the conduct of England towards the states of South America. As to the question of fact, the agent from Buenos-Ayres had not received credentials authorising the officers of the crown to present him to his majesty; for although they might have been sufficient for his presentation at the French court, they were not sufficient at an

English court, which claimed the privilege of an entire minister, (a laugh.)

"I know," said Mr. Canning, "it is the opinion of some individuals, that the new states of America ought not only to be raised to the rank of ancient governments, but that they ought to be placed in a more advantageous situation. I am not of this opinion. When the new states are admitted to the rank of nations, I think the crown of England ought to require of them the same etiquette as from the most ancient despotic and best consolidated European monarchies. Unless this conduct be adopted, it is impossible to admit their agents on the footing of ministers invested with the appropriate character of authority. The credentials of this agent were not sufficient to confer upon him the powers of minister from a foreign state; and the same objection would have been made to a minister from France or Russia. I hope that this explanation will be sufficient; I will only add, that as soon as the credentials have received the alterations necessary to assume an official form, the most sincere, reciprocal relations shall be established between England and the republic of Buenos Ayres.

"Mr. Baring alluded also to another circumstance connected with this mission from Buenos Ayres, to which I will reply. This government, in the first period of its existence, had appointed in England, as consul general, the partner of a commercial house, a gentleman in every respect qualified, who presented himself at my house, with the avowed intention of discussing questions of the greatest importance; but, knowing that he was only a commercial agent and

not an accredited minister, I refused to see him or to treat with him officially. Every state has a right to regulate its manner of receiving the ministers of other states. This right the government of Buenos Ayres, has exercised towards us; we are, therefore, permitted to stand upon our own ground, and to adhere, in this instance, to our national rights.

It remains to answer another observation, connected with the nomination of certain individuals in England. It is evident, that our relations with the new states of South America are rather of a commercial, than of a political nature. The only question of policy consisted in establishing the necessity or inutility of recognizing their independence; but the details were of a commercial nature. Considering the fluctuations to which such relations might be subject in England, and the possibility that private interests might be injured by them, I requested the government of Buenos Ayres, not, in future, to appoint English merchants, as agents in England, and I wrote on the same subject to the chargé d'affaires of Buenos Ayres. It is certainly inconvenient to communicate officially with commercial agents; and an individual invested with that character will be the last to be informed of the intentions of England towards the government of Buenos Ayres."

I have also forbidden every English agent to engage in commercial transactions, and recalled those who disobeyed this injunction. Such is the conduct I have observed towards the new states, in regard to which, we are placed in more delicate circumstances than in respect to the others.—I am sorry there should have been any

misunderstanding, in reference to the individual whose credentials will probably be ratified before the next session of parliament; but I can assure the house, that the delay in the recognition of this agent is the result of an accident, and not of any premeditated intention on the part of the government.

SOUTH AMERICAN MINES.

The Times Newspaper and the Mining Associations.

In the present state of society, a journal enjoying the public confidence exercises a real magisterial authority, which derives an additional accession of influence and respectability from the bias it gives to the public mind. It is not now, as in former times, merely the medium of communication for the sallies of a playful fancy; or the transient record of frivolities, unproductive of consequences, and which survived not the day that witnessed their first appearance; nor is it the mere vehicle of ephemeral satire, occasionally directed, with well-aimed precision, against some whimsical singularity of mind, but without ever inflicting a wound on the important interests of life:—an accredited journal, at the present period, is one of the most powerful levers of society: it is an almost irresistible means of acting upon general and private interests, concerning which, in too many instances, and on subjects of the highest importance, the opinion is suspended, till determined by the elucidation of a favourite journal, upon such particular points as may appear of an obscure or questionable description. In short, a journal, such as it ought to be, (and to this character the *Times* may, in numerous instances, justly assert its claim,) is the first regulator, and the most decisive arbiter of public opinion that exists in our days. But the qualities requisite to fill with distinction so important an office, are not confined to

erudition, eminence of talent, or to the possession of the common feelings of humanity : with these must be blended the firmness which separates itself from party spirit, from the intrigues of a particular set of men, from the influence of habit and prejudice, and which weighs, in the balance of impartial reason, every interest, concerning which it is the duty of those upon whom the specific office devolves, to convey information to the public.

This combination of qualities is so uncommon, and so few journalists have the happiness to be gifted with it, that it would be a dereliction of sincerity to express any great degree of astonishment, if the stoicism of our respectable contemporary should not uniformly resist the impulse of irritation, or the suggestions of private interest. Some obvious contradictions, in the doctrine of this celebrated journal, had already proved, that its integrity, like all other things, is not imperishable, or that it is, at least, subject to occasional aberration.

Some observers, for instance, have imagined, that they perceived a remarkable variation of principles, in the manner in which the *Times* defends or attacks the crime of adultery ; with which it associates different gradations of moral turpitude, accordingly as it is committed within the splendid palace, or the obscure recesses of a theatre : others, on the contrary, pretend, that the moral principles which direct the conscientious pen of the *leading journal* of England, are unalterable ; but that their financial principles sometimes vary, according to circumstances. In short, a considerable number of persons assert, that, spoiled by the influence which its extensive circulation allows it to exert over the minds of the credulous, and intoxicated by the

adulation which it receives from the implicit confidence, of its numerous admirers, it attacks and destroys in all the apathy of sportive wantonness, whatever incurs its displeasure, or is incapable of vigorously resisting its aggressions.

As to ourselves, who uniformly avoid all individual animosity, and who think it an honour to profess, on many points, the doctrines advocated by the writers of the *Times*; this journal had long been considered by us, as the avowed enemy of oppression, ever disposed to assail it, whatever form it assumed, directing all its efforts to the discovery of truth, appreciating its excellence, and recommending it to its readers. It appears, however, that we had taken of it only a distant view, and that our opinion resembled that which is formed of the moon, when examined with the naked eye. It then presents a surface of the most beautiful whiteness; but no sooner is it approached through the medium of a perspective glass, than it exhibits dark spots, cavities that reflect not one ray of light, and excites emotions of surprise and disappointment at the error which attributed to the aggregate appearance of this luminary a splendour emanating only from certain points of its surface.

This reflection is suggested by the injustice and tyranny with which the *Times* exercises the species of sovereignty it possesses, in its violent hostility against whatever is connected, directly or indirectly, with some of the associations which have been formed for working the mines in South America. That the *Times* should attack, with all the thunder of its artillery, the deplorable system of stock-jobbing and gambling pursued by the frequenters of the Exchange; that it should describe some of these enterprises

asures, intended to deceive public credulity; and that it should reprobate all of them, as dangerous to the credit and commercial prosperity of England, is, both just and praise worthy: for never shall we be disposed to impugn the right of any person actuated by honourable motives, to inflict the severity of moral justice upon transactions which so deeply interest the public welfare. We have too undisguisedly avowed and advocated this principle, to incur the suspicion of aiming at its destruction. But that, under pretence of tearing away the mask from fraud, or of interposing the shield of protection, for the defence of the general interests, the same anathema should be hurled against one intriguer, and against twenty persons of unimpeachable integrity; that one questionable transaction, and twenty others originating in sincere and honourable motives, should be indiscriminately comprehended in the same proscription; that the preponderance which inclines the scale of public opinion should, in connection with a spirit of violence allied to fury, excite odious suspicions against names of the highest respectability, and persons of the most unblemished reputation; this is the exercise of the very worst kind of oppression, and the assumption of a species of power of life and death, over every enterprise that, from some unassignable motive, has the misfortune to displease the dictators of the press. Such, however, has been the conduct of the *Times*, in reference to several respectable companies; and such, unimpelled by any other feeling than that of justice, is the charge we urge against this journal; for, abstractedly from the circumstance alluded to, we profess a most cordial and disinterested admiration of the talents and political principles by which it is, in general, distinguished.

We shall not here revert to the numerous attacks which the *Times*, without alleging any positive fact or specific charge, has, during the period of a year, directed against one of these companies. Few persons are now at a loss to conjecture the cause of these virulent invectives; and fortunately for the individuals who are the objects of them, it is well known, that whenever a question of important interest is proposed for debate, the mode of its discussion is determined by the majority of votes, in a meeting of the proprietors, in which, it is said, the financial side of the question is not always a secondary consideration. Now, it is very possible, that the cause of the mining associations may have been lost this year, in this conclave of Titans, by a majority of one or two votes; and precisely by the same means which, five years ago, gained the cause of an illustrious victim, who, in the estimation of the proprietors of the *Times*, was protected by every principle of justice: for the majority of the readers of journals were favourable to this opinion.

But to prove that the hostility of this journal against the associations to which we allude, rests upon no solid foundation, we will only advert to the unaccountable partiality, with which it has devoted to public reprobation one of the most respectable South American mining companies in London.

This company, now known by the name of the Imperial Spirito Santo Company, constituted as a mining association, published, four months since, a prospectus, in which it submitted to the public the legal title which authorised its existence, and the object of its formation. This prospectus was extensively circulated before the definitive organization was concluded,

and previously to its shares being brought to market. The *Times* observed, however, the profoundest silence, till the day after the new shares were offered for sale. Then, believing, without doubt, that it was more consistent with honourable principle to ruin the purchasers, than to have prevented them from purchasing, by the previous information of the danger which they incurred, in consequence of engaging in a speculation which might appear questionable in the opinion of the *Times*; this journal indulged its sudden and unrestrained resentment against the Castello company, and, for the purpose of effecting its ruin, resorted to a Machiavelian artifice which, sincerity compels us to say, it should have disdained to introduce into the columns of a journal, professing some respect for the honour and interests of the community. The committee of the stock exchange having thought proper to caution the public against the formation of illegal companies, accidentally published a note to this effect, the very day of the formation of the Spirito Santo association, and the following is the explanation given by the *Times* on this occasion:—

Two occurrences, of a character deserving notice, took place upon the stock exchange. One may serve as a comment to the other. The first is this (which we extract from an evening paper:—"In the stock market, the shares of two new companies have appeared: one, the Castello and Spirito Santo mining association the shares of which were done at 5 per cent. premium, and are at present at 4 per cent." &c.

So much for the text: now for the commentary, which we have received from the city:

"The committee of the foreign stock exchange have issued a

notice, to caution the members against dealing in the shares of any company, with the respectability and fair conduct of which they are not perfectly satisfied."

Aha! Gentlemen of the foreign stock-exchange (adds the *Times*) we should say you are too late in cautioning the members of your body against thus dealing in shares of mushroom companies. The suspicion—the more than suspicion—of the public has long ago been excited against such ephemeral speculations.*

This murderous and revolting insinuation produced, in the first instance, a part of the effect which its authors expected. From premium 7, the shares fell to $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4: but this attack was so gross a violation of justice, and so evidently levelled against the directors of the new company, that the *Times* was irresistibly impressed both with the necessity and prudence of offering some kind of reparation, to secure a refuge to which it might retreat, for protection against the justly-excited resentment of the men whom it had thus cruelly insulted. No real reparation, however, was in fact made for this underhand injury. The following is this laconic reparation, which breathes as much malevolence as the attack, and which will particularly exhibit to our readers that unconcern and that species of *aristocratie de fortune*, which too often pervade the haughty sentiments of our contemporary.

We understand the coincidence of the appearance of the notice to which the *Times* alluded the day before, and of some new undertakings on the same day, was accidental, and that no particular company was intended to be referred to by the committee of the foreign stock exchange.†

* *Times*, the 8th July,
VOL. II. No. 5.

† Ditto, the 9th July.

It is now natural to ask against whom these severe provocations were directed—Undoubtedly, against one of the obscure societies which possess neither a title to authenticate their formation, nor responsible men at their head, nor any rational prospect, nor any means of realizing the expectations they excite: in short, against one of those enterprises in which every thing is fallacious, illusive, or fraudulent; for, as it is observed, nothing less than a society of this description can deserve the reprobation of one of the most eminent journals in Europe. The fact, however, is very different; the society, on which the Areopagus of the *Times* has conferred the honour of selecting for its victim, is a society which never had, nor has, nor ever will have reason to dread the inquisitorial jurisdiction or despotic authority, which this new species of tribunal exercises over whatever has not, or disdains to have, the means of conciliating its favour. It is a society existing in virtue of an imperial decree, enjoying the most extensive publicity, and consisting of individuals, whose names and commercial fortunes offer no inducement, either to court the smile of adulation, or to shrink from the frown of criticism. Its object is to extract, under the protection of a friendly and strictly-administered government, treasures where the munificence of nature has deposited them; whence the hand of man has not yet removed them; and from which, it is certain, heaven will not work a miracle to convey them, merely to gratify the verbose enmity, or fulfil the inauspicious predictions of the *Times*. We ask the writers of this journal, what their opinion would be of any other paper, delighting in the guilty pleasure of attaching odious suspicions, and applying the epithets of deception and

insignificance, to an association of respectable merchants, whose only reply to its libels would be, first, the production of new and solemn guarantees of the declared protection of the government, under the auspices and in the territories of which, it has undertaken the labours in which it is engaged: secondly, a successful commencement of the execution of its engagements, by the purchase of ships, and machinery of every description, requisite to the working of the mines which it has undertaken to work, and by the formation of the requisite number of persons, composed of officers, miners, surgeons, and others necessary to the expedition, the whole effective value of which equals, if it does not exceed the amount of the only deposit that has been demanded: and thirdly, the unobjectionable opinion of all persons well acquainted with Brazil, and who unanimously assert, that the province of Spirito Santo is among those, which offer the greatest number of mineralogical resources, throughout the whole extent of South America.

Independently of the works which, for the purpose of forming a correct opinion on this subject, we have considered it incumbent upon us to consult, we have before us a recent publication, by * a man who appears to have passed a considerable part of his life in that beautiful country, and from which we will give an extract to the *Times*, to tranquillize its tender and susceptible conscience.

Preeminently distinguished by so many advantages, it is singular that the provinces of Espirito Santo and Porto Seguro should

* Brazilian Improvements, more particularly as they regard the province of Spirito Santo.

have remained so long neglected, more particularly as the Rio Doce, flowing between them, is an easy and natural outlet for all the productions raised in Minas Geraes, now brought to the capital or Bahia, on the backs of mules, after a tedious and expensive journey of upwards of two months, according to the relative distances of the places. This remarkable facility for inland communication, hitherto so much wanted in Brazil, was known as early as the year 1573, when an enterprising adventurer, of the name of Tourinho, proceeded up the Rio Doce from its mouth, discovered the mineral riches of Minas Geraes, collected specimens, and afterwards descended by the river Jequitinhonha, a copious stream rising in the vicinity of Tejuco, which, after passing through the most valuable diamond districts, falls into the sea on the N. side of Porto Seguro, where, swelled by numerous tributary waters, it takes the name of the river Belmonte.

To the enterprising spirit of the Paulistas, however, Brazil is indebted for the discovery and settlement of those rich lands situated in the rear of Espirito Santo. Penetrating from their own capital, and impelled by the animating pursuit of gold, they reached the auriferous mountain of Villa Rica, after braving dangers and hardships of every kind. So great was the value of this discovery, that, in 1713, the king's fifth on the gold brought to the district mint, and exclusive of what was smuggled, amounted to upwards of half a million, and between 1730 and 1750, to a million sterling per annum.

Notwithstanding this great accumulation of wealth, the valuable line of communication with the great mining districts, through the province of Espirito Santo, and by the means of the facilities afforded by the Rio Doce, remained neglected; one of the hardships arising out of the colonial policy of Portugal to which the Brazilians were so long condemned. The presence of the king among his transatlantic subjects, however, gave rise to a scheme for opening the navigation of the Rio Doce, when, in 1819, the royal sanction was obtained for the formation of a company for this specific purpose, and numbers of the most enlightened natives and

foreigners in the country offered to join in the enterprise, by becoming subscribers.

Through a strange fatality this magnificent plan was not then carried into effect, notwithstanding the preparations made and the immense utility of the scheme. Sufficient information was nevertheless obtained to shew that the intervening obstacles could easily be overcome, as appears from several detached surveys preserved in the public archives, and more particularly from the testimony of Father Manoel Ayres de Casal, in his *Corografia do Brazil*, of which Henderson's History of Brazil, with the exception of some fragments containing personal narrative, is little else than an abridgement, and in some instances a most defective translation. Speaking of the facilities of rendering the Rio Doce navigable from the ocean to the province of Minas Geraes, he states as follows : —“The only natural difficulties of the river, which present any impediment to its free navigation, are the Escadinha falls, met with in its course between the latter province and Porto Seguro. They are three in number, and do not extend more than three miles, being nearly together, so that the construction of a railway, or any other and less excellent expedient which the government might be induced to adopt, would connect a conveyance by water to the coast for the produce raised in the interior districts, which at present is sent on the backs of mules, two or three months being consumed on the journey, and the same period with the return loads.” In furtherance of the plan, the government recently established five Indian settlements on the banks of the Rio Doce, and ordered that amicable relations should be kept up with the surrounding tribes. For many years a presidio, with a small garrison has been kept up there, for the purpose of preventing smugglers from bringing gold dust down from Minas Geraes. At the entrance is a good port; accessible to vessels drawing twelve feet of water.

Such is the magnificent enterprise reserved for the days of Brazilian independence, and great must be the glory of a monarch resolved to bestow so inestimable a benefit upon his subjects. By

an imperial grant, made on the 6th of May, 1825, the navigation of the Rio Doce is to be opened, and the immense resources with which Espirito Santo abounds, called into notice.....

The whole of this interesting district is watered by considerable rivers, flowing to the sea, and swelled by tributary streams, which intersect it in several directions.

Most of them are auriferous, and on their margins smiling valleys, of the most inviting kind, are seen to extend. Lofty and luxuriant forests bound them on every side, and frequently cover the mountains to their very summit. They abound in game, and afford ship timber and ornamental woods of the most variegated and choice kind. Gums and resins, with medicinal and other properties, promise to reward the industry of man, although now untouched and unlooked-for. The indigenous fruits are in the highest perfection, and most of those of European or Asiatic origin in richness and flavour exceed the parent stock. Culinary vegetables and roots, as well as a variety of other productions of the first necessity, may be planted and gathered every day in the year. The extremes of summer heat are unknown, except immediately on the coast, and there the air is refreshed by cooling breezes. In the interior, the whole year is a continued spring. Not a day passes on which the business of cultivation may not be forwarded. The uninterrupted verdure, the vivid and richly variegated colours of the flowers, adorning the ground and frequently tinging the summit of the loftiest trees, which appear to change their form and aspect every month, fill the most insensible minds with astonishment and admiration. Heat and humidity being combined in the most favoured proportions, vegetation is astonishingly quick and prolific.....

It is this favoured spot, situated in the heart of his dominions, that the emperor of Brazil has resolved to rescue from the neglected state in which it has been sunk for several years, and open its numerous resources to general enterprise. To this effect he has pledged his royal word, and as a commencement in the execution of so useful and magnificent a plan, he has bestowed an

imperial grant on six gentleman in England, which sets forth—
“That taking into consideration the benefits to be expected from the introduction of capital, artisans, miners, labourers, and machinery necessary for the regular working of mines, according to the superior practice and principles adopted in Europe, his majesty has thought proper to grant to the aforesaid, permission, through the medium of a company, to undertake mining operations for gold, silver and other metals in the province of Espirito Santo and mines of Castello, and to decree, that all the parties therein concerned shall enjoy the full protection of the laws, and have their contracts, rights, and property secured, without being molested, or withdrawn from the service of the company, &c.” The benefits derivable from this grant are immense. The mineral riches of the Castello mountains are well known, &c. &c.

Thus, legality in the principle of the enterprise, powerful protection, indisputable means of execution, future advantages, unquestionably evident and moral guarantee in the individuals,—these are the claims to confidence, asserted by the Spirito Santo company, against which the *Times* has inveighed with so little adherence to the dictates of justice.

But it will still be urged, what is this journal aiming at? against whom is it fighting, and with what intentions does it raise phantoms, to which the influence of rivalry or interested credulity may attach a real existence? Why, it is undoubtedly, like Don Quixote, fighting against wind-mills. As to what are, or what were its intentions, of this we are ignorant, because we are not disposed to attach to them an erroneous construction, or, in imitation of a morning paper, to impute to reprehensible motives, the animosity with which, as we think, we have proved, it attacks men and things deserving a very different conduct. We are, however,

compelled to acknowledge that, on the subject of the Brazilian mines, uniformity is not the virtue of the *Times*. When, twelve or fifteen months ago, the Oxenford company was established, for working the mines of Minas Geraes, in the empire of Brazil; the proprietors of the *Times* extended to it their especial protection, advocated its cause with their powerful eloquence, and uniformly represented it as entitled to the confidence of the public, and of a nature calculated to ensure infallible success. We have no inclination to dispute this opinion; it is rational and well founded, and, for that very reason, the opposite opinion, respecting the Spirito Santo mines, is a revolting partiality, and a most reprehensible violation of justice: for without even attempting to balance the local advantages, and some of the stipulations of the two imperial decrees, which are evidently more favourable to the latter, we may, at least, affirm, that nothing is more perfectly similar more completely identical than the moral and *material* existence of these two enterprises. But in this case, it may be justly retorted, whence can arise the incoherence and dissimilitude, in the opinion which the *Times* has expressed of both? We again reply, that we know not; but what we very well know is, that this journal, so consistent, in a thousand other instances, is, in this, self-condemned; and that its partiality, according to its own principles, incurs the imminent risk of forfeiting its claim to inflexibility. We also know, in addition to this, that the victims of its ill humour may sleep in undisturbed tranquillity, because a calumny is no dishonour.

LITERARY REPORT,

Speech intended to be delivered by the late Delille Laprée Director of the National Lyceum of Port-au-Prince, the 15th December 1823, at the public examination of the Pupils of that establishment, accompanied by fugitive Pieces by the same Author, Port-au-Prince, 1825, small 8vo.

The virtuous man who composed this speech died, the 24th December 1823, universally regretted. The veneration in which his memory is held led to the publication of his posthumous writings. It is not here intended to eulogize his verses: their merit must be decided by an appeal to literary precepts, and to the principles of taste: but in an infant republic, the literature of which is not older than the enfranchisement of the nation and the laws which itself enacted, criticism is less severe than at Paris, and particularly in reference to national songs. The poetry of Delille Laprée seems to be much approved at Hayti, which will be seen by the following verses to be engraved upon his tomb:—

De l'ami des beaux-arts, de l'homme vertueux,
Passant, respecte ici la cendre.
Dans la tombe prêt à descendre,
Il séchait d'une main les pleurs du malheureux;
Et de l'autre il peignait, en vers harmonieux,
Les derniers mouvements d'une âme noble et tendre.

We will quote some thoughts from this speech which, we think, will be satisfactory to our readers. It was in the fulness of a heart fixed on futurity, that the immortal Petion (the founder and first president of the republic of Hayti) said: "Let every Haytian, with the constitution in his hand, know the extent both of his power and duty." It was when inspired by the purest, the most sublime, the most expanded sentiments, that his worthy successor exclaimed: "Young Haytians, pursue your studies with ardour; but let your country be the first object of your love." To their exertions, we are indebted for the enactment of laws, which have regulated the mode, time, and duration of public instruction. Elementary schools, founded upon the system of mutual teaching, are progressively establishing in the principal parts of the republic. The National Lyceum yearly receives additional encouragement, and is the object of numerous improvements. The ancient university of St. Domingo has been restored, since the happy union of the east with the republic; lectureships, in civil law, common law, philosophy, morals, medicine have been established, and assigned to eminent professors.

"Education will every where impart the benefit of knowledge.... Thus Hayti advances, beautiful, in the vigour of youth and strength, her head encircled with two immortal crowns, that of the conquest of her liberty and independence, and that of the establishment of her laws and constitution. With the ardour of juvenile feeling, she sprang forward into civilization. Upon you, young Haytians, devolves the duty of proving, to the disgrace of our inveterate calumnia-

tors, and to the glory of the immortal defenders of our rights, that to the descendants of the sons of Africa, nothing is impossible; and that, if Hayti, obedient to her constitution, has fettered the warlike spirit of her noble children, by prescribing the ocean as her boundary, yet no obstacle can repress their efforts to achieve a more durable, a sweeter glory;—the conquest of the sciences and the fine arts, the respect and the admiration of the world.”

Cuerpo di Leges—Collection of the Laws of the Republic of Colombia, Bogota, 1822, 1 vol. 4to.

This collection contains a law on crimes, in reference to religion, enacting. (Art 1st.): “The tribunal of the inquisition or holy office is for ever abolished. (Art. 2nd.) The jurisdiction of the bishops shall be purely spiritual; they may inflict ecclesiastical punishments, but with liberty to the delinquent to appeal to the civil tribunals. (Art. 3rd.) Foreigners and their descendants, settling in Colombia, shall not, in any instance, be disturbed in the exercise of their religious faith, provided they respect the catholic religion.”

Letters written from Colombia, during a journey from Caraccas to Bogota, and from Bogota to St. Martha, in 1823. London, 1824, Cowie, 1 vol. 8vo. 208pages.

An accurate description of countries, and an account of their manners, customs and resources, constitute the principal objects which claim the attention of a judicious traveller. Such is the end proposed by the anonymous author of the present work. He deli-

neates faithfully, and without exaggeration, what he himself saw, heard and experienced. It is, however, a subject of regret, that his travels were circumscribed within the period of a few months, and that thus, having rapidly traversed the vast territory which he describes, he could take only a cursory view of a nation which, after bending for four centuries, under the weight of the Spanish yoke, has, at last, released itself; and expelled its oppressors.

The work of the English traveller is in the form of a journal. The first letter is dated from Caraccas, where the author landed, after a passage of thirty-three days. Although incomplete, the description he gives of the second capital of Colombia is not deficient in interest; and the continuation of his journey, from Santa Fe de Bogota to Saint Martha, across an immense country covered with lofty mountains, magnificent forests, and fertile plains, watered by numerous rivers, and where the land requires only to be turned up to yield, after a few months, abundant crops, presents a succession of varied, - picturesque, and wonderful scenes. It is a curious and strange mixture of brute and cultivated nature; exhibiting wild savannas by the side of green meadows; rich plantations of coffee, sugar, cocoa, indigo, &c. interspersed with sterile heaths; fruit trees of every kind intermingled with the wild trees of the forest; the olive and the vine crowning the summits of barren rocks; disgusting animals creeping upon the slimy mud of a commercial river, or the hut of the Indian contrasted with the residence of the citizen.—The variety of climate and soil renders Colombia favourable to all kinds of produce, and congenial to every constitution. Nothing is

required but the labour of man : unwholesome marshes would then be converted into fertile fields ; stagnant pools into useful canals, ancient forests into fruitful plains , and, instead of the lion, the tiger, the crocodile and the serpent, numerous flocks would graze upon a soil previously unproductive.

We refer to the work itself for details respecting the present state of Colombia, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, the form of its government, and the men who preside over its destinies. As at the present moment all eyes are directed to South America, the work we are examining will, without doubt, please the generality of its readers. But it will not be satisfactory to those who wish to study and understand, in all its details, the republic of Colombia : they must have recourse to other works, I would therefore recommend those of Captain Cochrane upon Colombia (see the following article) and that of M. Caldcleugh, upon South America. These, I think, are written with the greatest exactness, and the most circumstantial detail. We shall devote an article to the second of these works, in a future publication, and endeavour to impart a just conception of the policy, military tactics, commerce, agriculture, and literature of the different South American States.

Journal of a Residence in Colombia during the Years 1823 and 1824, by Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane. London, 1825, 2 vols. 8vo.

According to the account of Captain Cochrane, the improvements which have taken place, and which continue to be introduced among the Colombians, promise the most happy results ; and if this picture is compared

with the situation of the ancient American colonies, doomed by the Spaniards to the most abject degradation and the most profound ignorance, the rapid progress which the Colombians have already made in the career of civilization, justifies the hope, that a period not very distant will introduce a state of things calculated to complete the wishes of the sincere friends of humanity. The great mass of the nation is still unenlightened on many subjects: this was to be expected. But the desire of information is general; hence, the government devotes particular attention to the dissemination of instruction, with this view; and it is establishing schools and colleges. The people appreciate its efforts, and seem grateful for the advantages they will produce. Few governments have signalized themselves by acts so honorable as that of the law which the congress of Colombia has enacted for the abolition of the slave trade, throughout the whole extent of the republic.

From the date of the promulgation of this law, no slave can enter Colombia, and all the children of slaves will be born free. The means of communication between the different parts of the Colombian provinces are very defective. We think that the establishment of good roads, and improvements in the navigation of the rivers, seem to claim the attention of the government.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Post scriptum.

The last sheets of the American Monitor were in the press, when we received from Buenos Ayres a letter of which we present the following extract to our readers. We make no comment on the probability or improbability of the project to which it alludes; for at the present moment, it appears to us difficult to form any certain opinion on the subject. We think, however, that this communication from our correspondent, on whatever authority it rests, will not be considered destitute of interest, under circumstances, in which the affairs of Buenos Ayres and Upper Peru have a peculiar claim to public attention.

We have not, for some time, been without apprehension respecting the motives which have induced the Liberator to visit Upper Peru.—The ever-celebrated victory of Ayacucho; the irreparable defeat of Olaneta; the total disappearance of the Spanish forces from the whole extent of Peru and even of America; the necessity of giving completion to the difficult and slow work of the organization of the Peruvian government, and that of the expulsion of the insolent Ródryl, from Callao, whence he still insults the triumph of the Americans, and where he seems to continue his opposition for the exclusive purpose of exhibiting, a few days longer, the remaining vestiges of Spanish tyranny, to the men who have so gloriously achieved its subversion;—the combination of all these circumstances induced us to ascribe the departure of

Bolivar from Lima to Upper Peru, where he had been preceded by his best lieutenant, to causes unfavorable to the maintenance of that general peace, which we all so ardently desire.—But the veil which concealed these movements is, at length, withdrawn; and it is now no longer possible to doubt, that the arrival of the Liberator is connected with one of those great political combinations which characterize the genius of this extraordinary man, and which, in my opinion, will complete the series of incalculable services which he has rendered to the cause of American independence and liberty.

The intention is to erect Upper Peru into an independent state, that is, to combine the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Cochabamba, and La Paz, into a republic, independent of Peru, properly thus called, and also of every neighbouring power. The formation of this new state, and its accession to the general federative order, has for its object the establishment of a system of equilibrium between the republic of Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, of which the extent, population, positions, and resources of every description are so prodigiously unequal, that, after the war of independence shall have ceased to unite the Americans by the powerful feeling of common danger, the protection of the weak against the strong will be an attempt of considerable difficulty. In the efforts prompted by the necessity of contributing to the general defence, all consider themselves as brothers, whose union should be ever protected against the influence of passions and that of time; but when the storm has subsided, and every one is reinstated in the peaceful enjoyment of what he possesses, self interest then begins to operate; then every one looks around him, feels the flame of ambition again kindling in his bosom, and is almost unconsciously impelled to appropriate to himself whatever he thinks conducive to his own individual advantage. How is this to be accounted for? *Quia nominor Leo*. Such was, and ever will be the human heart. Foresight and a primitive vigorous wise organization will alone counteract the injustice,

to which the confederacies will, for a considerable time, be more or less exposed.

It is asserted, that our government is decidedly against the execution of the project to which I have referred, and that it exerts every effort to prevent its success; but it is at least certain, that such is the object of General Alvear's mission. It is, however, to be hoped, that the Liberator will lead our statesman to the adoption of more correct ideas, and to the conviction that, if a monarchy should, as much as possible, connect with it unity, extent and population, the protecting principle of a republic consists less in national homogeneity than in the indissolubility of a great and good federative system—Such is the conception of this great man, who, not satisfied with having rescued the Americans from the misery of past oppression, is also solicitous to protect them against the uncertainty of future contingencies. I will inform you of whatever may take place respecting this important affair.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Moreau's East India Company's Records, shewing a View of the past and present State of the British Possessions in India, as to their Revenue, Expenditure, Debt, Assets, Trade, Navigation, &c.

When M. Moreau published, some months ago, his Chart of the commerce of Great Britain with all parts of the world, struck with the incontestible utility of this vast and laborious enterprise, we expressed a wish to see the scrutinizing eye of the same author successively extend to all the branches from which the commercial and manufacturing existence of the British empire is derived. No person appeared to us better adapted than M. Moreau, to give to the world correct information on this varied and important subject, respecting which so many contradictory systems have been raised, and such a number of erroneous opinions indiscriminately ushered to the public. Our wishes, we have the satisfaction to see, are partly accomplished, by the publication of M. Moreau's new work on "The Past and Present State of the British Possessions in India," a production that most evidently has been attended with indefatigable research, and is completely successful in its execution, since the greatest clearness is observed in the statement of partial facts, and an unerring exactitude in all the general results. No literary effort could have appeared at a more favourable moment. Hitherto the affairs of the East India Company have been no other than a true Dædalus, in which the further one entered, the more was

one entangled. This will now no longer be the case. M. Moreau has at length furnished us with the clue, and, to a certain extent at least, there is no danger of any one being again lost in the intricate and dark labyrinth of Leadenhall Street.

Persons interested in watching the operations of the East India Company, with M. Moreau's work before them, will soon become familiar with the various revolutions experienced, since the year 1600, in the revenue, expenditure, debt, assets, trade and navigation of this gigantic corporation, in its relations with the presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, as well as with all the secondary establishments depending on these three principal divisions. As far as regards ourselves, we sincerely regret that the want of room does not allow us the opportunity of analyzing M. Moreau's work in a more special and comprehensive manner; but we promise him and our readers that, if America, the principal object of our present labours, should at any time call forth his luminous investigations, we will reserve for him a place in our Magazine, adapted to the importance of the subject he treats, and the zeal with which he endeavours to enlarge the circle of human knowledge.

AMERICAN STOCKS AND SHARES.

STOCKS.

Mexican bonds..70	70½	Guatemala..... 5	Do.
Do. Scrip..... 8½	Do.	Peruvian.....61	6½
Brazil Do..... 5½	Do.		

SHARES.

United Mexican..13	15	Anglo Chili.....par	
Anglo Do.....45	47	Colombian.17	19
Pasco..... 4½	5½	Bolivar.....20	21
Brazil..... 1½	1½	Haytian 1	Do.
Castello..... 4	4½	Potosi..... †	pr
Chili..... 7	8		

THE
AMERICAN MONITOR.

No. VI.

A MONTHLY

Political, Historical, and Commercial

MAGAZINE, -

PARTICULARLY DEVOTED TO THE

AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AMERICA.



HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

BRAZIL.

TREATY MADE BETWEEN HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY AND HIS
MOST FAITHFUL MAJESTY, ON THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL, AUGUST THE 29, 1825,
AND RATIFIED BY HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR ON THIS
DAY.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

His Most Faithful Majesty having constantly in his royal mind
the most lively desire to re-establish peace, friendship, and good
harmony, between sister nations whom the most sacred ties ought

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to conciliate and unite in perpetual alliance, in order to accomplish these important ends, to conduce to general prosperity, and to secure the political existence and the future destinies of Portugal, as well as those of Brazil; and desiring at once to renounce every obstacle that might impede the said alliance, concord, and happiness of both states, by his diploma of the 13th of May of the current year, recognizes Brazil to hold the name of an independent empire, and separate from the kingdom of Portugal and Algarve, and his best beloved and esteemed son, Don Pedro, as emperor, yielding and transferring of his own free will the sovereignty of the aforesaid empire to his aforesaid son, and his legitimate successor, only taking and reserving for his own person the same title. And these august lords, accepting the mediation of his Britannic Majesty to adjust all preliminary questions regarding the separation of the two states, have named plenipotentiaries, to wit— His Imperial Majesty names the most illustrious and most excellent Luiz Joze de Carvalho e Mello, of the Council of State, Dignitary of the Imperial Order of the Southern Cross, Commander of the Orders of Christ and of the Conception, and Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; also the most illustrious and most Excellent Baron de Santo Amaro, Grandee of the Empire, of the Council of State, Gentleman of the Imperial Chamber, Dignitary of the Imperial Order of the Southern Cross, Knight of the Order of Christ and of the Tower and Sword; and also the most Illustrious and most Excellent Francisco Villela Barboza, of the Council of State, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Southern Cross, Knight of the Order of Christ, Colonel of the Imperial Corps of Engineers, Minister and Secretary of State for the Naval Department, and Inspector General of Marines.

His Most Faithful Majesty names the Right Hon. his Excellency Sir Charles Stuart, Privy Councillor of his Britannic Majesty, Grand Cross of the Order of the Tower and Sword and of the Bath; and full powers having been presented and exchanged, they have

agreed, in conformity with the principles laid down in the preamble, that the present treaty should be framed.

Art 1. His Most Faithful Majesty recognizes Brazil to hold the rank of an empire, independent and separate from the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, and his best beloved and esteemed son, Don Pedro, as emperor, yielding and transferring of his own free will, the sovereignty of the said empire to his said son and his legitimate successors, his Most Faithful Majesty only taking and reserving the same title for his own person.

Art. 2. His Imperial Majesty, as an acknowledgment of respect and affection for his august Father and Lord, Don John VI., agrees that his Most Faithful Majesty in his own person assume the title of Emperor.

Art. 3. His Imperial Majesty promises not to accept the proposals of any Portuguese colonies whatever, to unite themselves with Brazil.

Art. 4. Henceforth there shall be peace and alliance and the most perfect friendship between the empire of Brazil and the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve, with perfect oblivion of the past dissensions between the respective nations.

Art. 5. The subjects of both nations, Brazilians and Portuguese, shall be considered in the respective states as those of the most favoured and friendly nations, and their rights and property shall be religiously guarded and protected; it being understood that the owners of real estates shall be maintained in the peaceable possessions of such estates.

Art. 6. All property, whether real, personal, or moveable, sequestered or confiscated, and belonging to the subjects of the two Sovereigns of Brazil and Portugal, shall be forthwith restored, together with their arrears, deducting the expenses of the administration thereof; or their proprietors shall be indemnified according to the rules laid down in the first article.

Art. 7. All ships and cargoes taken, belonging to the subjects of both Sovereigns, shall be in like manner restored, or their owners indemnified.

Art. 8. A commission named by both governments, composed of an equal number of Brazilians and Portuguese, and established where the respective governments shall judge most expedient, shall be charged to examine the matters treated of in the 6th and 7th articles; it being understood that claims must be made in the space of one year from the formation of the commission; and in the case of a division of opinions and in equality of votes, they shall be decided by the representative of the Sovereign Mediator: both the governments shall point out the funds from which the first liquidated claims are to be paid.

Art. 9. All public claims between the governments shall be reciprocally received and decided, either by the restitution of the article claimed, or by an indemnification for their full value. For adjusting these claims, both the High Contracting Parties shall agree to make a direct and especial convention.

Art. 10. From henceforward the common civil relations of the Brazilian and Portuguese nations shall be re-established, paying reciprocally on all merchandize 15 per cent. as duties on consumption provisionally, the duties on trans-shipment and re-exportation remaining in the same form it was practised previous to the separation.

Art. 11. The reciprocal exchange of the notification of the present treaty shall be made in the city of Lisbon, within the space of five months, or less if possible, reckoning from the date of the signature of the present treaty. In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, and of his Most Faithful Majesty, by virtue of our respective full powers, sign this present treaty with our hands, and affix thereunto the seals of our arms.

Done in the city of Rio de Janeiro, on the 20th of August, 1825.

(Signed)

CHARLES STUART.

LUIZ JOSE DE CARVALHO E MELLO.

BARON DE SANTO AMARO.

FRANCISCO VILLELA BARBOSA.

Published at Rio de Janeiro, September 7.

COPY OF A NOTE ADDRESSED BY THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING, HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO THE CHEVALIER DE LOS RIOS, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF HIS MOST CATHOLIC MAJESTY.

Foreign Office, March 25.

The undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is commanded by his Sovereign to deliver to the Chevalier De Los Rios, for the purpose of being transmitted to his court, the following reply to the official note addressed by his Excellency M. Zea to his Majesty's Charge d'Affairs at Madrid, on the 21st of January.

So large a portion of the official note of M. Zea was founded upon a denial of the facts which had been reported to the British government with respect to the state of the several countries of Spanish America, and upon an anticipation of events expected by the court of Spain to take place in those countries, by which the credibility of the reports transmitted to the British government would be effectually disproved, that it has been thought advisable to await the issue of the expected events in Spanish America rather than to confront evidence with evidence, and to discuss probabilities and conjectures. Of that decisive issue, as it appears to be, the undersigned is directed to say, that it is a great satisfaction to the British government, that it had actually taken place before the intentions of the British government towards Spanish America were announced. Those intentions, therefore, cannot possibly have had the slightest influence upon the result of the war in Peru.

With this single observation the undersigned is directed to pass over all that part of M. Zea's note which turns upon the supposed incorrectness of the information on which the decision of the British government was founded.

The questions which remain to be examined are, whether in treating with *de facto* governments, now established beyond the danger of any external assaillment, Great Britain has violated either

any general principle of international law, or any positive obligation of treaty.

To begin with the latter, as the most specific accusation.

M. Zea brings forward repeatedly the general charge of violated treaties; but as he specifies only two—that of 1809 and that of 1814,—it may be presumed that he relies on them alone to substantiate his charge.

First, as to the treaty of 1809.

That treaty was made at the beginning of the Spanish struggle against France, and was directed wholly, and in terms not to be misapprehended, to the circumstances of the moment at which it was made. It was a treaty of peace, putting an end to the war in which we had been since 1804 engaged with Spain. It is expressly described in the first article as a treaty of "alliance during the war" in which we were engaged jointly with Spain against France. All these stipulations of the treaty had evident reference to the declared determination of the then ruler of France to uphold a branch of his own family upon the throne of Spain and of the Indies; and they undoubtedly pledged us to Spain, not to lay down our arms until that design should be defeated in Spain, and the pretension altogether abandoned as to America—a pledge which it is not, and cannot be, denied that Great Britain amply redeemed. But those objects once accomplished, the stipulations of the treaty were fulfilled, and its obligations necessarily expired, together with the matter to which they related.

In effect, at the happy conclusion of the war in the Peninsula, and after the restoration, by British assistance, of his Catholic Majesty to the throne of his ancestors, the treaty of 1809 was replaced by the treaty of 1814. And what does that treaty contain? First, the expression of an earnest wish on the part of his Majesty, that Spanish America may be reunited to the Spanish monarchy; and secondly, an engagement to prohibit British subjects from supplying the Spanish Americans with munitions of war. This engagement was instantly carried into effect by an order in council of 1814. And in furtherance of the like object, beyond the obli-

gation of the treaty, an act of Parliament was passed in 1819, prohibiting the service of British subjects in the ranks of the resisting colonies.

That the wish expressed in this treaty was sincere, the proof is to be found not only in the measures above mentioned, but in the repeated offers of Great Britain to mediate between Spain and her colonies. Nor were these offers of mediation, as M. de Zea alleges, uniformly founded on the single basis of the admission by Spain of the independence of the Spanish provinces.

Years had elapsed, and many opportunities had been missed of negotiating on better terms for Spain, before that basis was assumed to be the only one on which negotiation could be successfully opened.

It was not assumed in 1812, when our mediation was offered to the Cortes.

It was not assumed in 1815, when Spain asked our mediation, but refused to state the terms to which she was willing to agree.

It was not assumed in 1818, in the conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which conferences the question of an arrangement between Spain and her Americas was for the first and last time discussed between the great powers of Europe.

After the silence, indeed, which Spain observed as to the opinion of the powers assisting at those conferences, when laid before her, two things became perfectly clear; the first, that Spain had at that time no serious intention of offering any terms such as the Spanish American provinces were likely to accept; the second, that any subsequent reference of the subject to a congress must be wholly fruitless and unsatisfactory. From that time forth, Great Britain abstained from stirring the subject of negotiation with the colonies, till, in the month of May, 1822, Spain spontaneously announced to Great Britain that she had measures in contemplation for the pacification of her Americas on a basis entirely new, which basis, however, was not explicitly described.

In answer to that notification, Spain was exhorted by Great Britain to hasten, as much as possible, her negotiation with the

colonies, as the course of events was evidently so rapid as not to admit of a much longer delay : but no suggestion was even then brought forward by Great Britain as to the adoption of the basis of independence.

The first suggestion of that basis came in fact from the government of Spain itself in the month of November, 1822, when the British Minister at Madrid received an intimation that the cortes meditated opening negotiations with the colonies on the basis of colonial independence ; negotiations which were, in fact, subsequently opened, and carried to a successful termination with Buenos Ayres, though they were afterwards disavowed by his Catholic Majesty.

It was not till after this last-mentioned communication from the Spanish government that Great Britain expressed the opinion which she entertained as to the hopelessness of negotiating upon any other basis than that then first suggested by the Spanish government.

This opinion stated (as has been said) in the first instance confidentially to Spain, was nearly a twelvemonth afterwards—that is to say, in the month of October, 1823—mentioned by the undersigned in a conference with the French ambassador in London, the substance of which conference was communicated to Spain and to the other powers. It was repeated and enforced in the despatch from the undersigned to Sir Wm. A'Court, in January, 1824.

Nothing, therefore, can be less exact than the supposition that Britain has uniformly put forward the basis of independence as the *sine qua non* condition of her counsel and assistance to Spain, in negotiating with her colonies.

To come now to the second charge against Great Britain—the alleged violation of general international law. Has it ever been admitted as an axiom, or ever been observed by any nation or government as a practical maxim, that no circumstances and no time should entitle a *de facto* government to recognition, or should entitle third powers, who may have a deep interest in defining

and establishing their relations with a *de facto* government to do so?

Such a proceeding on the part of third powers undoubtedly does not decide the question of right against the mother country.

The Netherlands had thrown off the supremacy of Spain long before the end of the sixteenth century; but that supremacy was not formally renounced by Spain till the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Portugal declared in 1640 her independence of the Spanish monarchy; but it was not till 1668 that Spain, by treaty, acknowledged that independence.

During each of these intervals the abstract rights of Spain may be said to have remained unextinguished. But third powers did not in either of these instances wait the slow conviction of Spain, before they thought themselves warranted to establish direct relations, and even to contract intimate alliances with the republic of the United Netherlands, as well as with the new monarchy of the House of Braganza.

The separation of the Spanish colonies from Spain has been neither our work nor our wish. Events, in which the British government had no participation, decided that separation—a separation which we are still of opinion might have been averted if our counsels had been listened to in time. But out of that separation grew a state of things, to which it was the duty of the British government (in proportion as it became the plain and legitimate interest of the nation whose welfare is committed to its charge) to conform its measures, as well as its language, not hastily and precipitately, but with due deliberation and circumspection.

To continue to call that a possession of Spain, in which all Spanish occupation and power had been actually extinguished and effaced, could render no practical service to the mother country; but it would have risked the peace of the world. For all political communities are responsible to other political communities for their conduct—that is, they are bound to perform the ordinary international duties, and to afford redress for any violation of the rights of others by their citizens or subjects.

Now either the mother country must have continued responsible for acts over which it could no longer exercise the shadow of a control, or the inhabitants of those countries, whose independent political existence, was in fact, established, but to whom the acknowledgment of that independence was denied, must have been placed in a situation in which they were either wholly irresponsible for all their actions, or were to be visited for such of those actions as might furnish ground of complaint to other nations with the punishment due to pirates and outlaws.

If the former of these alternatives—the total irresponsibility of unrecognized states, be too absurd to be obtained; and if the latter—the treatment of their inhabitants as pirates and outlaws, be too monstrous to be applied for an indefinite length of time to a large portion of the habitable globe, no other chance remained for Great Britain, or for any country having intercourse with Spanish American provinces, but to recognize, in due time, their immediate existence as States, and thus to bring them within the pale of those rights and duties which civilized nations are bound mutually to respect, and are entitled reciprocally to claim from each other.

The example of the late revolution in France, and of the ultimate happy restoration of his Majesty Louis XVIII., is pleaded by M. Zea in illustration of the principle of unextinguishable right in a legitimate sovereign; and of the respect to which that right is entitled from all foreign powers; and he calls upon Great Britain, in justice to her own consistency, to act with the same reserve towards the new States of Spanish America, which she employed so much to her honour towards revolutionary France.

But can M. Zea need be reminded that every power in Europe, and specifically Spain amongst the foremost, not only acknowledged the several successive governments *de facto* by which the house of Bourbon was first expelled from the throne of France, and afterwards kept for near a quarter of a century out of possession of it, but contracted intimate alliances with them all; and above all, with that which M. Zea justly describes as the strongest of *de facto* governments, the government of Buonaparte; against

whom, not any principle of respect for the rights of legitimate monarchy, but his own ungovernable ambition, finally brought combined Europe into the field?

There is no use in endeavouring to give a specious colouring to facts which are now the property of history.

The undersigned is therefore compelled to add, that Great Britain herself cannot justly accept the praise which M. Zea is willing to ascribe to her in this respect, nor can she claim to be altogether exempted from the general charge of having treated with the powers of the French revolution.

It is true, indeed, that up to the year 1796, she abstained from treating with revolutionary France, long after other powers of Europe had set her the example. But the reasons alleged in parliament and in state papers for that abstinence, was, the unsettled state of the French government. And it cannot be denied that both in 1796 and 1797 Great Britain opened a negotiation for peace with the Directory of France—a negotiation, the favourable conclusion of which would have implied a recognition of that form of government; that in 1801 she made peace with the Consulate; that if in 1806 she did not conclude a treaty with Buonaparte, Emperor of France, the negotiation was broken off merely on a question of terms; and that if from 1808 to 1814, she steadily refused to listen to any overtures from France, she did so declaredly and notoriously on account of Spain alone, whom Buonaparte pertinaciously refused to admit as party to the negotiation.

Nay, further, it cannot be denied that even in 1814, the year in which the Bourbon dynasty was eventually restored, peace would have been made by Great Britain with Buonaparte if he had not been unreasonable in his demands; and Spain cannot be ignorant that even after Buonaparte was set aside, there was question among the allies of the possible expediency of placing some other than a Bourbon on the throne of France.

The appeal, therefore, to the conduct of the powers of Europe, and even to that of Great Britain herself, with respect to the French revolution, does but recal abundant instances of the re-

cognition of *de facto* governments by Great Britain, perhaps later and more reluctantly than by others, but by Great Britain herself, however reluctant, after the example set to her by the other powers of Europe, and especially by Spain;

There are two other points in M. Zea's note which appear to call for particular attention.

M. Zea declares that the King of Spain will never recognize the new States of South America, and that his Majesty will never cease to employ the force of arms against his rebellious subjects in that part of the world.

We have neither the pretension nor the desire to control his Catholic Majesty's conduct; but this declaration of M. Zea comprises a complete justification of our conduct in having taken the opportunity, which to us seemed ripe, for placing our relations with the new states of America on a definite footing. For this declaration plainly shews that the complaint against us is not merely as to the mode or the time of our advances towards those States: it shows that the dispute between us and Spain is not merely as to the question of fact, whether the internal condition of any of those States be such, as to justify the entering into definite relations with them; that it was not merely reasonable delay for the purpose of verifying contradictory reports, and of affording opportunity for friendly negotiation that was required of us; it shows that no extent of forbearance on our part would have satisfied Spain, and that, defer our advances towards the new States as long as we might, we should still have had to make them without the consent of Spain; for that Spain is determined against all compromise, under any circumstances, and at any time, and is resolved upon interminable war with her late colonies in America.

M. Zea concludes with declaring that his Catholic Majesty will protest, in the most solemn manner, against the measures announced by the British government as violating existing treaties, and the imprescriptible rights of the throne of Spain.

Against what will Spain protest?

It has been proved that no treaties are violated by us; and we admit that no question of right is decided by our recognition of the new States of America.

But if the argument on which this declaration is founded be true, it is eternal; and the offence of which we are guilty in placing our intercourse with those countries under the protection of treaties is one of which no time and circumstance could, in the view of Spain, have mitigated the character.

Having thus entered with great pain and unwillingness into the several topics of M. Zea's note, the undersigned is directed, in conclusion, to express the anxious hope of his government that a discussion, now wholly without object, may be allowed here to close. The undersigned is directed to declare to the Spanish minister, that no feeling of ill will or even of indifference to the interests of his Catholic Majesty has prompted the steps which his Majesty's government has taken—that his Majesty still cherishes an anxious wish for the welfare of Spain—and that his Majesty still retains the disposition, and commands the undersigned again to renew to his Catholic Majesty's government the offer, to employ his Majesty's good offices for the bringing about of any amicable arrangements which may yet be practicable between his Catholic Majesty and the countries of America which have separated themselves from Spain.

(Signed)

GEO. CANNING.

CIRCULAR LETTER OF BOLIVAR CONCERNING THE CON-
GRESS OF PANAMA.

Lima, Dec. 7, 1824.

My great and good friends,—After fifteen years' sacrifices, consecrated to the liberty of America, to obtain a system of guarantees, which in peace and war may be a shield of our new destiny, it is time that the interests and relations which united between them the republics of America, before colonies of Spain,

should be founded on some known basis, which may render, if that were possible, the duration of these states eternal.

To establish that system, and to consolidate the power of this great political body, belongs to the exercise of a supreme authority, which may direct the policy of our governments, whose influence may be able to maintain uniformity in our principles, and whose name alone may be sufficient to appease our dissensions. An authority, to carry with it so much respect, can only be found in an union of plenipotentiaries, sent by each of our republics, and assembled under the auspices of victory, obtained by our arms over Spanish power.

Deeply penetrated with these ideas, in 1823, as President of the republic of Colombia, I invited the governments of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres, to form a confederacy, and to assemble at the Isthmus of Panama, or any other place to be chosen by the majority, a congress of plenipotentiaries from each state, which 'might act as a council to us in our distresses, as a rallying point in our common danger, as a faithful interpreter to our public treaties, when difficulties might occur; and, in fine, as a mediator in all our differences.'

The government of Peru concluded, on the 6th of June of that year, a treaty of alliance and confederation with the plenipotentiary of Colombia; and by it both parties were pledged to interpose their good offices, that all entering into the same compact, a general assembly of the confederates might be effected. A treaty to the same purport was concluded in Mexico, on the 3d of October of 1823, by the envoy extraordinary of Colombia to that state; and there are strong grounds to hope, that the other governments will accede to what a regard for their own interests so urgently recommends.

To delay for a longer period the general meeting of the plenipotentiaries from the republics who, *de facto*, already form a confederacy, until the accession of the remainder be obtained, would be depriving ourselves of the advantages which that assembly would produce from the moment of its installation. These advan-

tages are prodigiously increased, if we contemplate the picture presented to us by the political world, and more particularly the cabinets of Europe.

The union of the plenipotentiaries of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru, would be delayed indefinitely, if it were not promoted by one of the contracting parties; unless we were to wait for the result of a new and special convention upon the time and place relative to this great event. On considering the difficulties and delays, from the distance at which we are separated, added to other weighty motives, emanating from a consideration of our general interests, I have resolved to take this step, with a view to promote the immediate meeting of our plenipotentiaries; whilst in the mean time the other states celebrate the same conditions as already exist between us, relative to the appointment and incorporation of their representatives.

With respect to the period of the installation of the assembly, I venture to believe that no difficulty can be opposed to its taking place within the space of six months, counting from the present date; and I likewise venture to flatter myself that the ardent desires which all Americans feel to exalt the power of the Colombian continent, will abridge the difficulties and delays which ministerial preparations might require, and the distance which exists between the capitals of each state and the central place of meeting.

It seems that if the world had to choose its capital, the Isthmus of Panama would be selected for this august purpose, placed as it is, in the centre of the globe, looking on the one side towards Asia, and on the other towards Africa and Europe. The Isthmus of Panama has been offered by the government of Colombia for this object, in existing treaties. The Isthmus is at an equal distance from the two extremities; and, on this account, might be provisionally adopted as the place where the first meeting of the confederacies might be held.

Yielding, therefore, to these considerations, I feel strongly inclined to send to Panama the deputies from this republic, the

moment I have the honour to receive the wished-for answer to this circular. Nothing, certainly, will contribute so much to satisfy the ardent wishes of my heart, as the co-operation which I look forward to of the confederated governments, in carrying into effect this august act of America.

If your Excellency does not condescend to join in it, I foresee immense delay and injury, at a time when the movement of the world accelerates all things, accelerating them, perhaps to our disadvantage.

After the first conferences between the plenipotentiaries have been held, the residence of the assembly, as well as its attributions, may be determined in a solemn manner by the majority; and then all our aim will be accomplished.

The day on which our plenipotentiaries exchange their full powers, will form a memorable era in the diplomatic history of America. When, an hundred ages hence, posterity seeks the origin of our international law, and recalls to mind the conventions which consolidated her existence, she will respectfully consult the records of the proceedings in the Isthmus. In them she will discover the basis of our first alliances, which will regulate the system of our relation with the universe. What will the Isthmus of Corinth then be to that of Panama?

God preserve your Excellency. Your great and good friend,

(Signed)

BOLIVAR.

UPPER PERU.

The following decree has been issued by Bolivar from his head-quarters in Arequipa, on the 15th of May:—

1. The provinces of Upper Peru, formerly Spanish, shall be united, in conformity to the decree of General Sucre, into a general assembly, to express freely in it their will respecting their interests and their government, conformably to the desire of the

Executive Power of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and of the first-mentioned provinces themselves.

2. Deliberation, in this assembly shall receive no sanction till the installation of the new congress of Peru in the following year.

3. The provinces of Upper Peru shall, in the mean time, remain subject to the direct authority of General Sucre, commander-in-chief of the liberating army.

4. The resolution of the sovereign congress of Peru, of the 23d of February, shall be fulfilled in all its parts, without the least alteration.

5. The provinces of Upper Peru shall recognize no other centre of authority in the mean time, until the installation of the Peruvian congress, except that of the supreme government of that republic.

6. The secretary-general is charged with the execution of this decree.

SIMON BOLIVAR.

Given at the Head-quarters at Arequipa,
16th, of May, 1825.

PROCLAMATION OF RODIL.

Don Jose Ramon Rodil, Brigadier-General of the Royal Armies, Aid-de-Camp General of E. M. I. of the operations of Peru, political and military governor of the fortress of Callao, and of the province of Lima, Commandant-general of the division of the army of the North Coast, decorated with the crosses of Somosa and Espinosa, Monteros, Sampago, Samaneos, Medina del Campo, Tarifa, the Third Army, Pampeluna, and Conchirigada, &c. &c. &c., considering that the fort of Callao is besieged by sea and by land, and reviving in their vigour the Spanish laws and decrees, which his Excellency Senor Viceroy Don Jose de la Serna made at the time of his government, I prohibit, by

the present edict, all communications and traffic in the fort and bay of Callao and on its coast ; so that any merchant vessel, large or small, and of whatever nation, navigating within those limits, shall be considered and treated as an enemy, and all sorts of foreign provisions and effects which may be seized in any place now occupied by the insurgents, shall be confiscated the moment those places are occupied by the royal armies, without the possibility of their being restored. The vessels of war which may require to communicate with this place, upon subjects necessary and particular to the nations to which they belong, will present themselves before the port, and send out their boats within reach of the batteries, there to await the arrival of the person who may be sent by this government to communicate with them.

(Signed)

JOSE RAMON RODIL.

JOSE LUIS BOLANO, Secretary.

Callao, May 17, 1825.

CONTRACT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU AND
MESSRS. COCHRANE, AMERO, AND LINCH, FOR A LEASE
OF THE PASCO MINES.

1. The government agrees to let to Messrs. Cochrane, Linch, and Amero, the mines and dependencies which belong to the government of Peru, and which were formerly in the possession of Don Juan Vivas, situate in the department of Pasco, for a term of twenty-five years, on paying every year the sum of 15,000 dollars; and a further sum of 30 per cent. upon the bars of silver which those mines may produce, all other duties included.

2. The amount of 15,000 dollars stated in the present contract shall be paid by the contractors, in specie, by quarterly payments to the sinking fund of the public debt.

3. In case the duties upon mineral productions should be reduced, the benefit will be extended to the present contractors.

4. The direction of the mines belongs to the contractors, subject to the mining laws of Pasco, and which are necessary for the preservation of the mines. The contractors are bound to keep the mines in repair, or to forfeit all their constructions, machinery, &c.

5. The government grants the free working of mines of coal for the machinery.

6. The government permits the free introduction of machinery, instruments, and quicksilver, for the use of the mines, through the legal ports.

7. The contractors are not bound to use any of the machinery now in the mines, or to pay any pension to the machine company for their use unless they should require them.

8. If at the expiration of twenty-five years the government should object to renew the lease, it engages to pay the contractors for all their machinery, buildings, &c. by a fair appraisement.

9. If the government should determine to sell the mines, the present contractors are to have the preference as purchasers.

10. If the expense of working the mines should be found to exceed the produce, the contractors shall be permitted to close the contract; but in that case they are to leave all their constructions for the use of the state, carrying with them only what, in the strict sense, can be considered moveable.

11. The government will extend its protection to the contractors, wherever doing so may not be contrary to the laws of the state.

12. In the event of any contraband practices, the contract shall be declared void, and without compensation on the part of the contractors.

13. This contract shall be in force from the day of the delivery of possession of the mines.

14. Relates to a private claim upon the mines of 25,000 dollars

which the contractors are to pay, and to deduct from the sums which they are bound by the contract to pay to the state.

Signed at Lima, 20th May, 1825.

DON JOSE MARIA PANDO.

(Minister of Finances).

WILLIAM COCHRANE.

CHRISTOBAL DE AMERO.

STANISLAS LINCH.

Lima, May 21st.

Approved.

HIPOLITO UNANUE

TOMAS DE HERES.

CHILI.

PROCLAMATION OF THE SUPREME DIRECTOR OF THE STATE TO THE PEOPLE.

Circumstances the most imperious and urgent oblige me to convene the general congress to which I had invited the nation in my former decrees; circumstances which are of such high importance, that they do not admit of the preliminary steps then announced being previously taken, and which, perhaps, would have been desirable for the provinces in less eventful moments. Europe hastens to decide on the fate of America, and England has recognized the independence of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, hoping for the arrival of that period when a legal organization of Chili will justify that recognition, to which she is entitled by her valour, her moderation, and her virtues. The new governments invite us to assist and prepare to form a South American assembly, in which may be organized the grand pact of union and the public law of the New World. Already they have sent their plenipotentiaries to Panama. The government of Chili has felt itself embarrassed by these official invitations, being unable to refer to the national representation, and could only

reply that it was about immediately to instal the national congress, whose first sitting would be directed exclusively to that sublime object. Great negotiations, connected with the national industry destined to promote the prosperity of Chili, seem paralysed, because the undertakers of them delay the completion of the speculations, waiting for the legal and consistent establishment of our system. More than twenty-three millions of dollars, it has been announced by our plenipotentiary, have been raised in London to encourage our industry and agriculture. The government, vacillating, and without a recognized code to direct its administration, can scarcely act, feeble and cramped as it is in all its operations, and without authority to establish principles or a policy adapted to our institutions. Oppressed by so many urgent circumstances, I hope to see the nation assembled on the 5th of September. In order to secure the greater freedom and dispatch in the elections, I have in the subjoined proclamation, taken the most efficacious means to secure impartiality and good order.

Inhabitants of Chili! This nation knows sufficiently well that I have no other interest at heart but that of the country; no love for any other dignity than that of increasing its glory. Without hesitation I protest to you anew, by that which is most sacred, that I shall behold with the greatest horror (and will take care that the judicial authorities shall discharge their functions by exemplarily chastising), any one who may directly or indirectly seek to make it believed that the government takes any interest in the persons or the opinions of those chosen your representatives. From motives of delicacy I have resolved to withdraw during the period of the elections of all the governors dependant on the directorial nominations, in order that the slightest influence on the part of the government shall not be exercised.

It is for you now to pursue, with the greatest purity, the national interest. You have to decide on the fate of your country. Look well to the important charge, and consider the awful respon-

sibility you incur, and tremble for the inexorable judgment of posterity.

Santiago de Chili, July 12, 1825.

FREIRE.

JUAN DE DIOS VIAL DEL RIO.

CONVOCATORIA.

Desiring to consult the universal wishes of the people of Chili, so ardently manifested for a general meeting in Congress, and adopting the Convocatoria issued in the year 1823, with the additions made to it in 1824, so far as the same are adapted to circumstances, I decree—

1. The nation shall meet in a general constituent Congress which shall be installed at Santiago on the 5th of September of the present year.

2. The congress shall be composed of public deputies freely elected by each district, and with reference to the population of each.

3. The election will be conducted on the basis that one deputy shall be returned for each fifteen thousand souls. In those parts where that number may be exceeded by nine thousand, an additional deputy shall be returned.

[The convocatoria then proceeds to specify the numbers to be returned for the several provinces or districts which it enumerates, the qualifications of persons eligible to be returned as deputies, and the forms to be observed in electing them, and in examining the returns.]

This document is dated July 6th, 1825.

(Signed)

RAMON FREIRE.

JUAN DE DIOS VIAL DEL RIO.

BUENOS AYRES.

NOTE OF THE BUENOS AYRES GOVERNMENT TO THE GENERAL CONSTITUENT CONGRESS.

The copies of the notes sent herewith will inform the representatives of the formal invitation given to the national executive authority by the supreme government of the republic of Peru, acting in concert with that of Colombia, to send, on the part of the united provinces of the Rio de La Plata, two ministers Plenipotentiary to the congress of all the states of the American continent, convened at the Isthmus of Panama. The communications of the government of Colombia indicate some of the objects of that assembly, and by the context of that from Peru, it may be perceived that an idea is entertained of establishing an authority which should preside over the confederation of the American States, guide their foreign policy, and accommodate the differences which might arise among the confederates themselves. A similar plan was once before proposed to the government of the province of Buenos Ayres, then charged with the administration of the foreign affairs of the nation. The reasons which then induced us to refuse our consent to the proposal have not been weakened by subsequent events.

The major part of the republics have decided in favour of the assembly of the above-named congress, and it appears that they intend to instal it in its functions within the present year, more particularly as they consider it as the most efficacious means of assuring the internal tranquility of each state, the harmony of the relations with each other, and the security of all against the common enemy.

The national executive authority, however, are not of that opinion; but they are, nevertheless, of opinion that it would not, under existing circumstances, be advisable to appear in a state of positive dissension with the other republics. On the other

hand, the respect due to the opinion of those who have decided in favour of the plan and objects of the congress of Panama, has for some time had the effect of engaging the attention of government, and it has thought that on no occasion was it ever more necessary than the present, thoroughly to make manifest, in the first place, the vehement desire which animates the republic of the United Provinces of the Rio de La Plata to strengthen their friendly relations with the other republics of the continent, and make them more intimate and durable; and in the second place, in order to attain that object, to adopt a perfectly frank conduct, and to express clearly and sincerely to the allied republics those means which it considers best adapted to the end of strengthening their power against foreign enemies, and of establishing an indissoluble alliance amongst them, founded on the community of principles essential to the perfection of social order, and to the progressive and simultaneous prosperity of each and all of them.

It is in consequence of these considerations that the government submits the subjoined project of law for the approval of the general congress.

The government salutes the Senores Representatives with the highest respect.

(Signed) JUAN GREGORIO DE LAS HERAS.
EMANUEL JOSE GARCIA.

To the General Constituent Congress.

PROJECT OF LAW.

Article 1. The national executive government is authorized to enter into a defensive alliance with the states of America formerly belonging to Spain, to maintain their independence against the Spanish nation and any other foreign power.

Art. 2. The republic of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata solemnly recognizes as fundamental rules of their political association the following articles; and authorizes the Executive power to enter into negotiations for them to be equally recognized by all the other states of the American continent.

First—That the free will of the people is the sole origin of the legitimacy of governments.

Second—That no man can exercise or pretend on any account to have the right of making laws for the people, nor have they the power to renounce for themselves or their posterity the right of sanctioning the laws unless by means of their legitimate representatives.

Third—That no government can arrogate the power of interfering with the interior government of another independent state.

Fourth—That the property of private individuals in the territory of any of the republics is inviolable in peace and war.

Art. 3. The executive government shall negotiate with the states of America formerly belonging to Spain, a treaty of commerce upon the basis of the free employment of the industry of the subjects of the said states in all and each of their respective territories.

Art. 4. In case of any alliance of the nature stated in article 1st, it shall be regulated by a special treaty, conformable to the circumstances and resources of each of the contracting states.

Art. 5. The national executive government will be empowered in sufficient time to send one or more ministers plenipotentiary for the purpose specified in this law to the assembly of the plenipotentiaries of the states of the continent of America convened by the governments of Colombia and Peru.

GARCIA.

BANDA ORIENTAL.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL LAVALLEJA.

Don Juan Antonio Lavalleja, Brigadier General-in-chief of the Oriental Army, &c. to the Citizens of La Colonia.

Your countryman and friend now addresses you in the
VOL. II. No. 6.

words of sincerity. I wish to inspire you with all the confidence I can, that you may believe that love of my country and fellow citizens alone stimulates me to tell you something with all respect.

I address myself to all classes, and to prove it I now question you. Say, countrymen, what advantage do you gain by aiding this mob of tyrants, the usurpers of your country? Do you not think that they will be such when circumstances allow, and that they highly delight to harass us, rejoicing in their councils at your want of reflection? Do you hope by any chance any other recompense than contempt as soon as they may have succeeded in conquering us? Does not the period of six years during which they have occupied our territory, offer a sufficient proof of their intentions. Have they not made as many traitors as slaves? Avow, friends, have they kept any of the treaties entered into, have they let any honourable citizen prosper, have they, in short, in the least advanced our country? Nothing of surety, nothing have they done than reduced our most flourishing cities to ruin, and looked upon us as slaves.

Countrymen, my sword shall not be sheathed whilst a single tyrant treads the land of my birth. It is not upon you that I make war: no, far from it. Always, and under all circumstances you will see me your friend. Come and occupy your homes, assure yourselves that it is my care to protect the inhabitants.

Soldiers—Six hundred brave men promise to maintain your decision immediately: join my ranks, be assured that my motto is "Order," and that you will find in me, first, a total forgetfulness of all past errors; and second, perfect protection as one of our fellow countrymen.

Head quarters at Real de San Carlos, Aug. 18, 1825.

JUAN ANTONIA LAVALLEJA.

COQUIMBO.

This beautiful province had its assembly installed on the 26th of June last, which ratified the following decree:—

1. The province of Coquimbo is an integral and essential part of the republic of Chili.

2. The assembly of the province approves of the resolutions adopted on the 17th of May last by the majority of the representatives of the last congress, determining its dissolution.

3. The province recognizes and obeys the supreme arrangements of the general executive.

4. The province submits to, and will fulfil the laws, which emanate from the national representation.

5. In the mean time, till it meets the assembly of the province, recognizes the general executive deposited in the person of Senor D. Ramon Frere, as Supreme Director.

6. The Assembly reserves to itself the privilege of revising the political constitution of the nation, and those laws which have the character of fundamental, to ratify them or not, according as it may deem it expedient.

7. Yet in case any law of those indicated in the preceding article shall not have the approbation of this assembly, it shall nevertheless obtain its worth and fulfilment in the province, if it has passed the other two.

8. The province of Coquimbo shall have a departmental assembly, whose attributes, number of representatives, and their renewal, as well as the time of its session each year, shall be fixed by a law.

9. A copy of this law shall be sent to the Supreme Director, to the provincial assemblies, and to the deputies of the province named to the last congress.

JOSEPH MIGUEL SOLAR, President.

FRANCISCO RODRIGUEZ, Secretary.

CHILI.

The following article has been published respecting a Bank in this Republic.

The produce of mines, however necessary in our present circumstances, always forms a factitious wealth. The natural and solid riches of a state are its agriculture and industry. Our plenipotentiary in London, after having negotiated for the forming of great mining associations as a means of prompt assistance to our restoration, has directed his attention to our agricultural and commercial interest, and has accordingly negotiated for a national bank, to which agriculturists, and others engaged in business, will be enabled to have recourse for stock at a moderate interest. It will be established with a capital of ten millions of crowns, on the following conditions:—

1. There shall be a bank, intituled the National Bank of Chili, having the privilege of negotiating on its stock for thirty years, without thereby excluding any citizen from establishing private banks.

2. This bank shall have the liberty of taking money on deposit, lending to individuals, or to the government, on any sort of security or public rent, discounting bills, and issuing paper money, which will circulate in the country.

3. Its capital shall be ten millions subdivided into transferable shares of 500 crowns each. At least a third of that fund will remain in England, to answer the bills which the bank of Chili may draw on Europe, or any other negotiations that may take place relative to this establishment.

4. The funds and property in the bank shall be sacred under any circumstances.

5. By permission of the government, branch banks shall be established, in order to accommodate agriculturists and merchants in other parts of the state.

6. Its internal regulations shall be conformable to the laws of the country at all times.

7. A stranger, who, during five years shall hold constantly twenty shares, and has resided the lawful period in the country, shall obtain the right of citizenship.

8. The bank shall have fifteen directors, of whom the third part at least shall be the natural born subjects of Chili, and elected by the government.

9. A certain number of shares shall be reserved by the Chilean capitalists.

10. This bank alone shall bear the title of National Bank of Chili.

11. The government of Chili will ratify in a short time this stipulation entered into between the minister plenipotentiary of Chili and M. S. M. Samuel, in the name of the bank association. Delay must be prejudicial to the negotiations which are being entered into. The government is free to ratify or disapprove of them.

UNITED STATES.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE NINETEENTH CONGRESS.

Fellow citizens of the senate and house of representatives,—In taking a general survey of the concerns of our beloved country, with reference to subjects interesting to the common welfare, the first sentiment which impresses itself upon the mind is, of gratitude to the Omnipotent Dispenser of Good, for the continuance of the blessings of his providence, and especially for that health which, to an unusual extent, has prevailed within our border, and for that abundance which, in the vicissitudes of the seasons, has been scattered with profusion over our land. Nor ought we less to ascribe to him the glory, that we are permitted to enjoy the bounties of his hand in peace and tranquillity; in peace with all the other nations of the earth, in tranquillity among ourselves.

There has, indeed, rarely been a period in the history of civilized man, in which the general condition of the Christian nations has been marked so extensively by peace and prosperity. Europe, with a few partial and unhappy exceptions, has enjoyed ten years of peace, during which all her governments, whatever the theory of their constitutions may have been, are successively taught to feel that the end of their institution is the happiness of the people, and that the exercise of power among men can be justified only by the blessings it confers upon those over whom it is extended.

During the same period, our intercourse with all those nations has been pacific and friendly—it so continues. Since the close of your last session, no material variation has occurred in our relations with any of them. In the commercial and navigation system of Great Britain, important changes of municipal regulation have recently been sanctioned by acts of parliament, the effect of which, upon the interests of other nations, and particularly upon ours, has not yet been fully developed. In the recent renewal of the diplomatic missions on both sides, between the two governments, assurances have been given of the continuance and increase of the mutual confidence and cordiality by which the adjustment of many points of difference had already been effected, and which afford the surest pledge for the ultimate satisfactory adjustment of those which still remain open, or may hereafter arise.

The policy of the United States, in their commercial intercourse with other nations, has always been of the most liberal character. In the mutual exchange of their respective productions, they have abstained altogether from prohibitions; they have interdicted themselves the power of laying taxes upon exports, and whenever they have favoured their own shipping, by special preference, or exclusive privileges in their own ports, it has been only with a view to countervail similar favours and exclusions granted by the nations with whom we have been engaged in traffic, to their own people or shipping, and to the disadvantage of ours. Immediately after the close of the last war, a proposal was fairly made by the act of congress of the 3d of March, 1815, to all the maritime

nations, to lay aside the system of retaliating restrictions and exclusions, and to place the shipping of both parties to the common trade, on a footing of equality, in respect to the duties of tonnage and impost. This offer was partially and successively accepted by Great Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands, the Hanseatic cities, Prussia, Sardinia, the Duke of Oldenburg, and Russia. It was also adopted, under certain modifications, in our late commercial convention with France. And, by the act of congress of the 8th of January, 1824, it has received a new confirmation, with all the nations who had acceded to it, and has been offered again to all those who are, or may hereafter be willing to abide in reciprocity by it. But all these regulations, whether established by treaty or municipal enactments, are still subject to one important restriction. The removal of discriminating duties of tonnage and impost is limited to articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the country to which the vessel belongs, or to such articles as are most usually first shipped from her ports. It will deserve the serious consideration of congress, whether even this remnant of restriction may not be safely abandoned, and whether the general tender of equal competition, made in the act of the 8th of January, 1824, may not be extended to include all articles of merchandize not prohibited, of what country soever they may be the produce or manufacture. Propositions to this effect have already been made to us by more than one European government, and it is probable that if once established by legislation or compact with any distinguished maritime state, it would recommend itself by the experience of its advantages to the general accession of all.

The convention of commerce and navigation between the United States and France, concluded on the 24th of June, 1822, was, in the understanding and intent of both parties, as appears upon its face, only a temporary arrangement of the points of difference between them, of the most immediate and pressing urgency. It was limited, in the first instance, to two years, from the 1st of October, 1822, but with a proviso, that it should farther continue in force till the conclusion of a general and definitive treaty of

commerce, unless by a notice of six months in advance, of either of the parties to the other. Its operations, so far as it extended, have been mutually advantageous, and it still continues in force by common consent. But if left unadjusted several objects of great interest to the citizens and subjects of both countries, and particularly a mass of claims, to a considerable amount, of citizens of the United States upon the government of France, of indemnity for property taken or destroyed under circumstances of the most aggravated and outrageous character. In the long period, during which continual and earnest appeals have been made to the equity and magnanimity of France, in behalf of those claims, their justice has not been, as it could not be denied. It was hoped that the accession of a new sovereign to the throne would have afforded a favourable opportunity for presenting them to the consideration of his government. They have been presented and urged, hitherto without effect.

The repeated and earnest representations of our minister at the court of France, remain as yet even without an answer. Were the demands of nations upon the justice of each other susceptible of adjudication by the sentence of an impartial tribunal, those to which I now refer would long since have been settled, and adequate indemnity would have been obtained. There are large amounts of similar claims upon the Netherlands, Naples, and Denmark. For those upon Spain, prior to 1819, indemnity was, after many years of patient forbearance, obtained; and those upon Sweden have been lately compromised by a private settlement, in which the claimants themselves have acquiesced. The government of Denmark and of Naples have been recently reminded of those yet existing against them, nor will any of them be forgotten while a hope may be indulged of obtaining justice, by the means within the constitutional power of the executive, and without resorting to those measures of self-redress, which, as well as the time, circumstances, and occasion, which may require them, are within the exclusive competency of the legislature.

It is with great satisfaction that I am enabled to bear witness to

the liberal spirit with which the republic of Colombia has made satisfaction for well-established claims of a similar character ; and among the documents now communicated to congress, will be distinguished a treaty of commerce and navigation with that republic, the ratifications of which have been exchanged since the last recess of the legislature. The negotiation of similar treaties with all the independent South American states has been contemplated, and may yet be accomplished. The basis of them all, as proposed by the United States, has been laid in two principles ; the one of entire and unqualified reciprocity ; the other the mutual obligation of the parties to place each other permanently upon the footing of the most favoured nations. These principles are, indeed, indispensable to the effectual emancipation of the American hemisphere from the thralldom of colonizing monopolies and exclusions ; an event rapidly realizing in the progress of human affairs, and which the resistance still opposed in certain parts of Europe to the acknowledgment of Southern American republics as independent states, will, it is believed, contribute more effectually to accomplish. The time has been, and that not remote, when some of those states might, in their anxious desire to obtain a nominal recognition, have accepted of a nominal independence, clogged with burdensome conditions, and exclusive commercial privileges granted to the nation from which they have separated, to the disadvantage of all others. They are now well aware that such concessions to any European nation would be incompatible with that independence which they have declared and maintained.

Among the measures which have been suggested to them by the new relations with one another, resulting from the recent changes of their condition, is that of assembling at the Isthmus of Panama, a congress at which each of them should be represented, to deliberate upon objects important to the welfare of all. The republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America, have already deputed plenipotentiaries to such a meeting, and they have invited the United States to be also represented there by their ministers.

The invitation has been accepted, and ministers on the part of the United States will be commissioned to attend at those deliberations, and to take part in them, so far as may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our intention, nor the desire of the other American states, that we should depart.

The commissioners under the seventh article of the treaty of Ghent have so nearly completed their labours, that by the report recently received from the agent on the part of the United States, there is reason to expect that the commission will be closed at their next session, appointed for the 23d of May, of the ensuing year.

The other commission, appointed to ascertain the indemnities due for slaves carried away from the United States, after the close of the late war, have met with some difficulty, which has delayed the progress of the inquiry. A reference has been made to the British government on the subject, which, it may be hoped, will tend to hasten the decision of the commissioners, or serve as a substitute for it.

Among the powers specifically granted to congress by the constitution, are those of establishing uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States, and of providing for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States. The magnitude and complexity of the interests affected by legislation upon these subjects, may account for the fact, that long and often as both of them have occupied the attention, and animated the debates of congress, no systems have yet been devised for fulfilling, to the satisfaction of the community, the duties prescribed by these grants of power. To conciliate the claim of the individual citizen to the enjoyment of personal liberty, with the effective obligation of private contracts, is the difficult problem to be solved by a law of bankruptcy. These are objects of the deepest interest to society; affecting all that is precious in the existence of multitudes of persons, many of them in the classes essentially dependant and helpless; of the age requiring nurture, and of the sex entitled to protection, from the free agency of the parent and the husband.

The organization of the militia is yet more indispensable to the liberties of the country. It is only by an effective militia that we can at once enjoy the repose of peace, and bid defiance to foreign aggression; it is by the militia that we are constituted an armed nation, standing in perpetual panoply of defence in the presence of all the nations of the earth. To this end, it would be necessary so to shape its organization, as to give it a more united and active energy. There are laws for establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States, and for arming and equipping its whole body. But it is a body of dislocated members, without the vigour of unity and having little of uniformity but the name. To infuse into this most important institution the power of which it is susceptible, and to make it available for the defence of the union, at the shortest notice, and at the smallest expense of time, of life, and of treasure, are among the benefits to be expected from the persevering deliberations of congress.

Among the unequivocal indications of our national prosperity, is the flourishing state of our finances. The revenues of the present year, from all the principal sources, will exceed the anticipations of the last. The balance in the treasury, on the 1st of January last, was a little short of two millions and a half, being the moiety of the loan of five millions, authorized by the act of the 26th of May, 1824. The receipts in the treasury from the 1st of January to the 13th of September, exclusive of the other moiety of the same loan, are estimated at 16,500,000 dollars, and it is expected that those of the current quarter will exceed five millions of dollars; forming an aggregate of receipts of nearly twenty-two millions, independent of the loan. The expenditures of the year will not exceed that sum more than two millions. By those expenditures nearly eight millions of the principal of the public debt have been discharged. More than a million and a half has been devoted to the debt of gratitude to the warriors of the revolution; a nearly equal sum to the construction of fortifications, and the acquisition of ordnance, and other permanent preparatives of national defence. Half a million to the gradual increase of the

navy; an equal sum for the purchases of the territory from the Indians, and payment of annuities to them: and upwards of a million for objects of internal improvement authorized by special acts of the last congress. If we add to these, four millions of dollars for payment of interest upon the public debt, there remains a sum of about seven millions, which have defrayed the whole expenses of the administration of government, in its legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, including the support of the military and naval establishments, and all the occasional contingencies of a government co-extensive with the union.

The amount of duties secured on merchandize imported, from the commencement of the year, is about twenty-five millions and a half; and that which will accrue during the current quarter is estimated at five millions and a half; from these thirty-one millions, deducting the drawbacks, estimated at less than seven millions, a sum exceeding twenty-four millions will constitute the revenue of the year, and will exceed the whole expenditure of the year. The entire amount of public debt remaining due on the 1st of January next, will be short of eighty-one millions of dollars.

By an act of congress of the 3d of March last, a loan of twelve millions of dollars was authorized at four and a half per cent. for an exchange of stock to that amount of four and a half per cent. for a stock of six per cent. to create a fund for extinguishing an equal amount of the public debt, bearing an interest of six per cent. redeemable in 1826. An account of the measures taken to give effect to this act will be laid before you by the secretary of the treasury. As the object which it had in view has been but partially accomplished, it will be for the consideration of congress, whether the power with which it clothed the executive should not be renewed at an early day of the present session, and under what modification.

The act of congress of the 3d of March last, directing the secretary of the treasury to subscribe, in the name and for the use of the United States, for one thousand five hundred shares of the

capital stock of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, has been executed by the actual subscription for the amount specified, and such other measures have been adopted by that officer, under the act, as the fulfilment of its intentions require.

The latest accounts received of this important undertaking, authorize the belief that it is in successful progress.

The payment into the treasury from proceeds of the sales of public lands, during the present year, were estimated at one million of dollars. The actual receipts of the first two quarters have fallen very little short of that sum; it is not expected that the second half of the year will be equally productive: but the income of the year from that source may now be safely estimated at a million and a half. The act of congress of the 18th of May, 1824, to provide for the extinguishment of the debt due to the United States, by the purchasers of public lands, was limited, in its operation of relief to the purchaser, to the 10th of April last. Its effect at the end of the quarter during which it expired, was to reduce the debt from ten to seven millions. By the operation of similar prior laws of relief, from and since that of the 2d of March, 1821, the debt has been reduced from upwards of twenty-two millions to ten. It is exceedingly desirable that it should be extinguished altogether: and to facilitate that consummation, I recommend to congress the revival, for one year more, of the acts of the 18th of May, 1824, with such provisional modifications as may be necessary to guard the public interests against fraudulent practice in the re-sale of the relinquished land. The purchasers of public lands are amongst the most useful of our fellow-citizens; and since the system of sales for cash alone has been introduced, great indulgence has been justly extended to those who had previously purchased upon credit. The debt which had been contracted under the credit sales had become unwieldy, and its extinction was alike advantageous to the purchaser and the public. Under the system of sales, matured as it has been by experience, and adapted to the exigencies of the times, the lands will continue, as they have become, an abundant source of revenue; and when

the pledge of them to the public creditor shall be redeemed by the entire discharge of the national debt, the swelling tide of wealth with which they replenish the common treasury, may be made to re-flow in unfailing streams of improvement from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

The condition of the various branches of the public service resorting from the department of war, and their administration during the current year, will be exhibited in the report from the secretary of war, and the accompanying documents herewith communicated. The organization and discipline of the army are effective and satisfactory. To counteract the prevalence of desertion among the troops, it has been suggested to withhold from the men a small portion of their monthly pay until the period of their discharge; and some expedient appears to be necessary to preserve and maintain among the officers so much of the art of horsemanship as could scarcely fail to be found wanting, on the possible sudden eruption of a war, which should not overtake us unprovided with a single corps of cavalry. The military academy at West Point, under the restrictions of a severe but parental superintendence, recommends itself more and more to the patronage of the nation; and the number of meritorious officers which it forms and introduces to the public service, furnishes the means of multiplying the undertakings of public improvements, to which their acquirements at that institution are peculiarly adapted. The school of artillery practice, established at Fortress Monroe, is well suited to the same purpose, and may need the aid of further legislative provisions to the same end. The reports from the various officers at the head of the administrative branches of the military service, connected with the quartering, clothing, subsistence, health, and pay of the army, exhibit the assiduous vigilance of those officers in the performance of their respective duties, and the faithful accountability which has pervaded every part of the system.

Our relations with the numerous tribes of aboriginal natives of this country, scattered over its extensive surface, and so dependant,

even for their existence, upon our power, have been, during the present year, highly interesting. An act of congress of the 25th of May, 1824, made an appropriation to defray the expenses of making treaties of trade and friendship with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi. An act of the 3d of March, 1825, authorized treaties to be made with the Indians for their consent to the making of a road from the frontier of Missouri to that of New Mexico. And another act of the same date provided for defraying the expenses of holding treaties with the Sioux, Chippeways, Menomenees, Sauks, Foxes, &c. for the purpose of establishing boundaries, and promoting peace between the said tribes. The first and last objects of these acts have been accomplished; and the second is yet in a process of execution. The treaties which, since the last session of congress, have been concluded with the several tribes, will be laid before the senate for their consideration, conformably to the constitution. They comprise large and valuable acquisitions of territory, and they secure an adjustment of boundaries, and give pledges of permanent peace between several tribes which had been long waging bloody wars against each other.

On the 12th of February last, a treaty was signed at the Indian Springs, between commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, and certain chiefs and individuals of the Creek nation of Indians, which was received at the seat of government only a few days before the close of the last session of congress, and of the late administration. The advice and consent of the senate was given to it on the 3d of March, too late to receive the sanction of the then president of the United States; it was ratified on the 7th of March, under the unsuspecting impression that it had been negotiated in good faith, and in the confidence inspired by the recommendation of the senate. The subsequent transactions in relation to this treaty, will form the subject of a separate message.

The appropriations made by congress, for public works, as well in the construction of fortifications as for purposes of internal improvement, as far as they have been expended, have been faith-

fully applied. Their progress has been delayed for want of suitable offices for superintending them. An increase of both the corps of engineers, military and topographical, was recommended by my predecessor at the last session of congress. The reasons upon which that recommendation was founded subsist in all their force, and have acquired additional urgency since that time. It may also be expedient to organize the topographical engineers, into a corps similar to the establishment of the corps of engineers. The military academy at West Point will furnish, from the cadets annually graduated there, officers well qualified for carrying this measure into effect.

The board of engineers for internal improvement, appointed for carrying into execution the act of congress of the 30th of April, 1824, "to procure the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates, on the subject of roads and canals," have been actively engaged in that service from the close of the last session of congress. They have completed the surveys necessary for ascertaining the practicability of a canal from the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio River, and are preparing a full report on that subject; which, when completed, will be laid before you. The same observation is to be made with regard to the two other objects of national importance, upon which the board have been occupied—namely, the accomplishment of a national road from this city to New Orleans, and the practicability of uniting the waters of Memphragog with Connecticut river, and the improvement of the navigation of that river. The surveys have been made, and are nearly completed. The report may be expected at an early period during the present session of congress.

The acts of congress of the last session relative to the surveying, marking, or laying out roads in the territories of Florida, Arkansas, Michigan, from Missouri to Mexico, and for the continuation of the Cumberland road, are some of them fully executed, and others in the process of execution. Those for completing or commencing fortifications, have been delayed only so far as the corps of engineers has been inadequate to furnish officers for the necessary superintendence of the works. Under the act confirm-

ing the statutes of Virginia and Maryland, incorporating the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company, three commissioners on the part of the United States have been appointed for opening books and receiving subscriptions, in concert with a like number of commissioners appointed on the part of each of those states. A meeting of the commissioners has been postponed to await the definitive report of the Board of engineers. The light-houses and monuments for the safety of our commerce and mariners; the works for the security of the Plymouth beach, and for the preservation of the islands in Boston harbour, have received the attention required by the laws relating to those objects respectively. The continuation of the Cumberland road, the most important of them all, after surmounting no inconsiderable difficulty in fixing upon the direction of the road, has commenced under the most promising auspices, with the improvements of recent invention in the mode of construction, and with the advantage of a great reduction in the comparative cost of the work.

The operation of the laws relating to revolutionary pensioners may deserve the renewed consideration of congress. The act of March 18, 1818, while it made provision for many meritorious and indigent citizens, who had served in the war of independence, opened a door to numerous abuses and impositions. To remedy this, the act of May, 1st 1820, exacted proofs of absolute indigence, which many really in want were unable, and all, susceptible of that delicacy which is allied to many virtues, must be deeply reluctant to give. The result has been, that some among the least deserving have been retained, and some in whom the requisites both of worth and want were combined, have been stricken from the list. As the number of these venerable relics of an age gone by diminish, as the decays of body, mind, and estate of those who survive must in the common course of nature increase, should not a more liberal portion of indulgence be dealt out to them?

May not the want, in most instances, be inferred from the demand, when the services can be duly proved? and may not the

last days of human infirmity be spared the mortification of purchasing a pittance of relief only by the exposure of its own necessities? I submit to congress the expediency either of providing for individual cases of this description by special enactment, or of revising the act of the 1st of May, 1820, with a view to mitigate the rigour of its exclusions, in favour of persons to whom charity now bestowed, can scarcely discharge the debt of justice.

The portion of the naval force of the Union in actual service has been chiefly employed on three stations—the Mediterranean, the coasts of South America bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and the West Indies. An occasional cruiser has been sent to range along the African shores most polluted by the traffic of slaves; one armed vessel has been stationed on the coast of our eastern boundary to cruise along the fishing grounds in Hudson's bay, and on the coast of Labrador; and the first service of a new frigate has been performed in returning to his native soil, and domestic enjoyments, the veteran hero whose youthful blood and treasure had freely flowed in the cause of our country's independence, and whose whole life had been a series of sacrifices—and sacrifices to the improvement of his fellow men. The visit of General Lafayette, alike honourable to himself and our country, closed, as it had commenced, with the most affecting testimonials of devoted attachment on his part, and of unbounded gratitude of this people to him in return. It will form, hereafter, a pleasing incident in the annals of our union, giving to real history the intense interest of romance, and signally marking the unpurchaseable tribute of a great nation's social affections to the disinterested champion of the liberties of human kind.

The constant maintenance of a small squadron in the Mediterranean was a necessary substitute for the humiliating alternative of paying tribute for the security of our commerce in that sea, and for a precarious peace at the mercy of every caprice of four Barbary states, by whom it was liable to be violated. An additional motive for keeping a respectable force stationed there at

this time, is found in the maritime war raging between the Greeks and the Turks; and in which the neutral navigation of this Union is always in danger of outrage and depredation. A few instances have occurred of such depredations upon our merchant vessels, by privateers or pirates wearing the Grecian flag, but without real authority from the Greek or any other government. The heroic struggles of the Greeks themselves, in which our warmest sympathies as freemen and Christians have been engaged, have continued to be maintained with vicissitudes of success adverse and favourable.

Similar motives have rendered expedient the keeping of a little force on the coasts of Peru and Chili on the Pacific. The irregular and convulsive character of the war upon those shores, has been extended to the conflicts upon the ocean. An active warfare has been kept up for years with alternate success, though generally to the advantage of the American patriots. But their naval forces have not always been under the control of their own governments. Blockades, unjustifiable upon any acknowledged principles of international law, have been proclaimed by officers in command; and though disavowed by the supreme authorities, the protection of our own commerce against them has been made ground of complaint and of erroneous imputation upon some of the most gallant officers of our navy. Complaints equally groundless have been made by the commanders of the Spanish royal forces in those seas; but the most effective protection to our commerce has been the flag and the firmness of our own commanding officers. The cessation of the war by the complete triumph of the patriot cause, has removed, it is hoped, all cause of dissension with one party, and all vestige of force of the other. But an unsettled coast of many degrees of latitude, forming a part of our own territory, and a flourishing commerce and fishery, extending to the islands of the Pacific and to China, still require that the protecting power of the Union should be displayed under its flag as well upon the ocean as upon the land.

The objects of the West India squadron have been to carry

into execution the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade; for the protection of our commerce against vessels of piratical character, though bearing commissions from either of the belligerent parties; for the protection against open and unequivocal pirates. These objects during the present year have been accomplished more effectually than at any former period. The African slave trade has long been excluded from the use of our flag; and if some few citizens of our country have continued to set the laws of the Union, as well as those of nature and humanity, at defiance by persevering in that abominable traffic, it has been only by sheltering themselves under the banners of other nations, less earnest for the total extinction of the trade than ours. The irregular privateers have, within the last year, been in a great measure banished from those seas; and the pirates for months past appear to have been almost entirely swept away from the borders and the shores of the two Spanish islands in those regions. The active persevering, and unremitting energy of Captain Warrington, and of the officers and men under his command, on that trying and perilous service, have been crowned with signal success, and are entitled to the approbation of their country. But experience has shown, that not even a temporary suspension or relaxation from assiduity can be indulged on that station, without reproducing piracy and murder in all their horrors; nor is it probable that for years to come our immensely valuable commerce in those seas can navigate in security, without the steady continuance of an armed force devoted to its protection.

It were indeed a vain and dangerous illusion to believe that in the present or probable condition of human society, a commerce so extensive and so rich as ours could exist, and be pursued in safety, without the continual support of a military marine: the only arm by which the power of this confederacy can be estimated or felt by foreign nations, and the only standing military force which can never be dangerous to our own liberties at home. A permanent naval peace establishment; therefore, adapted to our present condition, and adaptable to that gigantic growth with which

the nation is advancing in its career, is among the subjects which have already occupied the foresight of the last congress, and which will deserve your serious deliberations. Our navy, commenced at an early period of our present political organization, upon a scale commensurate with the incipient energies, the scanty resources, and the comparative indigence of our infancy, was even then found adequate to cope with all the powers of Barbary, save the first, and with one of the principal maritime powers of Europe. At a period of further advancement, but with little accession of strength, it not only sustained with honour the most unequal of conflicts, but covered itself and country with unfading glory. But it is only since the close of the late war, that by the number and force of ships of which it was composed, it could deserve the name of a navy. Yet it retains nearly the same organization as when it consisted only of five frigates. The rules and regulations by which it is governed urgently call for revision; and the want of a naval school of instruction corresponding with the military academy at West Point, for the formation of scientific and accomplished officers, is felt with daily increasing aggravation.

The act of congress of the 26th of May, 1824, authorizing an examination and survey of the harbour of Charlestown, in South Carolina, of St. Mary's, in Georgia, and of the coast of Florida, and for other purposes, has been executed so far as the appropriation would permit. Those of the 3d of March last, authorizing the establishment of a navy yard and depot on the coast of Florida, in the Gulph of Mexico, and authorizing the building of ten sloops of war, and for other purposes, are in the course of execution; for the particulars of which, and other objects connected with this department, I refer to the report of the secretary of the navy, herewith communicated.

A report from the postmaster-general is also submitted, exhibiting the present flourishing condition of that department. For the first time for many years, the receipts for the year ending the 1st of July last, exceeded the expenditures during the same period, to the amount of more than 45,000 dollars. Other facts equally

creditable to the administration of the department, are, that in two years, from the first of July, 1823, an improvement of more than 185,000 dollars in its pecuniary affairs has been realized; that in the same interval the increase of the transportation of the mail has exceeded one million five hundred thousand miles annually; and that one thousand and forty new post-offices have been established. It hence appears, that under judicious management, the income from this establishment may be relied on as fully adequate to defray its expenses; and that by the discontinuance of post roads, altogether unproductive, others of more useful character may be opened, till the circulation of the mail shall keep pace with the spread of our population, and the comforts of friendly correspondence, the exchanges of internal traffic, and the lights of the periodical press, shall be distributed to the remotest corners of the union, at a charge scarcely perceptible to any individual, and without the cost of a dollar to the public treasury.

Upon the first occasion of addressing the legislature of the union, with which I have been honoured, in presenting to their view the execution, so far as it has been effected, of the measures sanctioned by them, for promoting the internal improvement of our country, I cannot close the communication without recommending to their calm and persevering consideration, the general principle in a more enlarged extent. The great object of the institution of civil government is the improvement of the condition of those who are parties to the social compact; and no government, in whatever form constituted, can accomplish the lawful ends of its institution, but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Roads and canals, by multiplying and facilitating the communications and intercourse between distant regions, and multitudes of men, are among the most important means of improvement. But moral, political, intellectual improvement, are duties assigned by the Author of our existence, to social, no less than to individual man. For the fulfilment of these duties governments are invested with power, and to the attainment of the end, the progressive improvement of the condition of the governed,

the exercise of delegated power is a duty as sacred and indispensable, as the usurpation of power not granted is criminal and odious. Almost the first, perhaps the very first instrument for the improvement of the condition of men, is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential. So convinced of this was the first of my predecessors in this office, now first in the memory, as living, he was the first in the hearts of our country, that once and again in his addresses to the congresses with whom he co-operated in the public service, he earnestly recommended the establishment of seminaries of learning, to prepare for all the emergencies of peace and war—a national university and a military academy. With respect to the latter, had he lived to the present day, in turning his eyes to West Point, he would have enjoyed the institution as the gratification of his most earnest wishes. But, in surveying the city which has been honoured with his name, he would have seen the spot of earth which he had destined and bequeathed to the use and benefit of his country, as the site for a university, still bare and barren.

In assuming her station among the civilized nations of the earth, it would seem that our country had contracted the engagement to contribute her share of mind, of labour, and of expense, to the improvement of those parts of knowledge which lie beyond the reach of individual acquisition; and particularly to geographical and astronomical science. Looking back to the history only of the half century since the declaration of our independence, and observing the generous emulation with which the governments of France, Great Britain, and Russia, have devoted the genius, the intelligence, the treasures of their respective nations, to the common improvement of the species in these branches of science, is it not incumbent upon us to inquire whether we are not bound by obligations of a high and honourable character, to contribute our portion of energy and exertion to the common stock? The voyages of discovery, prosecuted in the course of that time, at the expense of

those nations, have not only redounded to their glory, but to the improvement of human knowledge. We have been partakers of that improvement, and owe for it a sacred debt, not only of gratitude, but of equal or proportional exertion in the same common cause. Of the cost of these undertakings, if the mere expenditure of outfit, equipment, and completion of the expeditions were to be considered the only charges, it would be unworthy of a great and generous nation to take a second thought. One hundred expeditions of circumnavigation, like those of Cook and La Perouse, would not burden the exchequer of the nation fitting them out, so much as the ways and means of defraying a single campaign in war. But if we take into the account the lives of those benefactors of mankind, of which their services in the cause of their species were the purchase, how shall the cost of those heroic enterprises be estimated? And what compensation can be made to them, or to their countries for them? Is it not by bearing them in affectionate remembrance? Is it not still more by imitating their example? By enabling countrymen of our own to pursue the same career, and to hazard their lives in the same cause?

In inviting the attention of congress to the subject of internal improvements upon a view thus enlarged, it is not my design to recommend the equipment of an expedition for circumnavigating the globe for the purpose of scientific research and inquiry. We have objects of useful investigation nearer home, and to which our cares may be more beneficially applied. The interior of our territories has yet been very imperfectly explored. Our coasts along many degrees of latitude upon the shores of the Pacific Ocean, though much frequented by our spirited commercial navigators, have been barely visited by our public ships. The river of the west, first fully discovered and navigated by a countryman of our own, still bears the name of the ship in which he ascended its waters, and claims the protection of our armed national flag at its mouth. With the establishment of a military post there, or at some other point on that coast, recommended by my predecessor, and already matured in the deliberations of the last congress, I

would suggest the expediency of connecting the equipment of a public ship for the exploration of the whole north-west coast of this continent.

The establishment of a uniform standard of weights and measures was one of the specific objects contemplated in the information of our constitution, and to fix that standard was one of the powers delegated by express terms, in that instrument, to congress. The governments of Great Britain and France have scarcely ceased to be occupied with inquiries and speculations on the same subject since the existence of our constitution, and with them it has expanded into profound, laborious, and expensive researches into the figure of the earth, and the comparative length of the pendulum vibrating seconds in various latitudes from the equator to the pole. These researches have resulted in the composition and publication of several works highly interesting to the cause of science. The experiments are yet in the process of performance. Some of them have recently been made on our own shores, within the walls of our own colleges, and partly by one of our own fellow-citizens.

It would be honourable to our country if the sequel of the same experiment should be countenanced by the patronage of our government as they have hitherto been by those of France and Britain.

Connected with the establishment of an university, or separate from it, might be undertaken the erection of an astronomical observatory, with provision for the support of an astronomer, to be in constant attendance and observation upon the phenomena of the heavens; and for the periodical publication of his observations. It is with no feeling of pride, as an American, that the remark may be made, that on the comparatively small territorial surface of Europe, there are existing upwards of one hundred and thirty of these light houses of the skies; while throughout the whole American hemisphere there is not one. If we reflect a moment upon the discoveries which, in the last four centuries have been made in the physical constitution of the universe, by

means of these buildings, and of observers stationed in them, shall we doubt of their usefulness to every nation? And while scarcely a year passes over our heads without bringing some new astronomical discovery to light, which we must vainly receive at second hand from Europe, are we not cutting ourselves off from the means of returning light for light, while we have neither observatory nor observer upon our half of the globe, and the earth revolves in perpetual darkness to our unsearching eyes?

When, on the 25th of October, 1791, the first president of the United States announced to congress the result of the first enumeration of the inhabitants of this Union, he informed them that the population of the United States bordered on four millions of persons. At the distance of thirty years from that time the last enumeration, five years since completed, presented a population bordering upon ten millions. Perhaps, of all the evidences of a prosperous and happy condition of human society, the rapidity of the increase of population is the most unequivocal. But the demonstration of our prosperity rests not alone upon this indication. Our commerce, our wealth, and the extent of our territories have increased in corresponding proportions, and the number of independent communities associated in our federal union, has, since that time, nearly doubled. The legislative representation of the states and people, in the two houses of congress, has grown with the growth of their constituent bodies. The house, which then consisted of sixty-five members, now numbers upward of two hundred. The senate, which consisted of twenty-six members, has now forty-eight. But the executive, and still more the judiciary department, are yet in a great measure confined to their primitive organization, and are now not adequate to the urgent wants of a still growing community.

The naval armaments which at an early period forced themselves upon the necessities of the union, soon led to the establishment of a department of the navy. But the department of foreign affairs, and of the interior, which, early after the formation of the government had been united in one, continues united at this time,

to the unquestionable detriment of the public service. The multiplication of our relations with the nation and the governments of the Old World has kept pace with that of our population and commerce, while within the last ten years a new family of nations, in our own hemisphere, has arisen among the inhabitants of the earth, with whom our intercourse, commercial and political, would of itself furnish occupation to an active and industrious department. The constitution of the judiciary, experimental and imperfect as it was, even in the infancy of our existing government, is yet more inadequate to the administration of national justice at our present maturity. Nine years have elapsed since a predecessor in this office, now not the last—the citizen who perhaps of all others throughout the Union contributed most to the formation and establishment of our constitution, in his valedictory address to congress, immediately preceding his retirement from public life, urgently recommended the revision of the judiciary, and the establishment of an additional executive department.

The exigencies of the public service, and its unavoidable deficiencies, as now in exercise, have added yearly accumulative weight to the considerations presented by him as persuasive to the measure; and in recommending it to your deliberation, I am happy to have the influence of his high authority, in aid of the undoubted convictions of my own experience.

The law relating to the administration of the patent office are deserving of much consideration, and, perhaps, susceptible of some improvement. The grant of power to regulate the action of congress on this subject, has specified both the end to be obtained, and the means by which it is to be effected to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries. If an honest pride might be indulged in the reflection, that on the records of that office are already found inventions the usefulness of which has scarcely been transcended in the annals of human ingenuity, would not its exultation be allayed by the inquiry, whether the laws have ef-

fectively insured to the inventors the reward destined to them by the constitution, even a limited term of exclusive right to their discoveries?

On the 24th of December, 1799, it was resolved by congress that a marble monument should be erected by the United States in the Capitol, at the city of Washington; that the family of General Washington should be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life. In reminding congress of this resolution, and that the monument contemplated by it remains yet without execution, I shall indulge only the remark, that the works in the Capitol are approaching to completion. That the consent of the family desired by the resolution was requested and obtained. That a monument has been recently erected in the city, at the expense of the nation, over the remains of another distinguished patriot of the revolution; and that a spot has been reserved within the walls where you are deliberating for the benefit of this and future ages, in which the mortal remains may be deposited of him whose spirit hovers over you, and listens with delight to every act of the representatives of his nation, which can tend to exalt and adorn his and their country.

The constitution under which you are assembled is a charter of limited powers. After full and solemn deliberation upon all or any of the objects which, urged by an irresistible sense of my own duty, I have recommended to your attention, should you come to the conclusion that, however desirable in themselves, the enactment of laws for effecting them would transcend the powers committed to you by that venerable instrument which we are all bound to support; let no consideration induce you to assume the powers not granted to you by the people. But if the power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over the district of Columbia; if the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; if the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several

states, and with the Indian tribes; to fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying these powers into execution;—if these powers, and others enumerated in the constitution, may be effectually brought into action by laws promoting the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic and the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences, ornamental and profound---to refrain from exercising them for the benefit of the people themselves would be to hide in the earth the talent committed to our charge---would be treachery to the most sacred of trusts.

The spirit of improvement is abroad upon the earth. It stimulates the heart, and sharpens the faculties, not of our fellow-citizens alone, but of the nations of Europe, and of their rulers. While dwelling with pleasing satisfaction upon the superior excellence of our political institutions, let us not be unmindful that liberty is power; that the nation, blessed with the largest portion of liberty, must, in proportion to its numbers, be the most powerful nation upon earth; and that the tenure of power by man is, in the moral purposes of his Creator, upon condition that it shall be exercised to ends of beneficence, to improve the condition of himself and his fellow men. While foreign nations, less blessed with that freedom which is power, than ourselves, are advancing with gigantic strides in the career of public improvement, were we to slumber in indolence, or fold up our arms, and proclaim to the world that we were palsied by the will of our constituent, would it not be to cast away the bounties of Providence, and doom ourselves to perpetual inferiority? In the course of the year now drawing to its close, we have beheld, under the auspices, and at the expense of one state of this union, a new university unfolding its portals to the sons of science, and holding up the torch of

human improvement to eyes that seek the light. We have seen, under the persevering and enlightened enterprise of another state, the waters of our western lakes mingled with those of the ocean. If undertakings like these have been accomplished in the compass of a few years, can we, the representative authorities of the whole union, fall behind our fellow-servants in the exercise of the trust committed to us for the benefit of our common sovereign, by the accomplishment of works important to the whole, and to which neither the authority nor the resources of any one state can be adequate?

Finally, fellow-citizens, I shall await with cheering hope, and faithful co-operation, the result of your deliberations; assured that, without encroaching upon the powers reserved to the authorities of the respective states, or to the people, you will, with a due sense of your obligations to your country, and of the high responsibility weighing upon yourselves, give efficacy to the means committed to you for the common good. And may he who searches the hearts of the children of men, prosper your exertions to secure the blessings of peace, and promote the highest welfare of our country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The American Monitor.

SOUTH AMERICA AND THE PANAMA CONGRESS.

The progressive importance which the South American States are acquiring is shewn by the important documents we have transcribed. From the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, we see with wonder a rapid increase in wealth, in cultivation, in the art of government, and the reform of ancient abuses. Communities which yesterday, as it were, lived under the oppression of an eastern despotism, shew, at the present day, not only that they are free, but that they know how to be so. Even in those states which have adopted the form of republics, we observe none of the errors of the French revolution. Authority is every where combined with responsibility, and the public voice, without effusion of blood or violent commotions, places men in authority so long as they do not abuse it, and, when guilty of abuse, with the same facility removes them.

Information begins to spread itself, and the methods of teaching, and of scattering instruction amongst all classes of society, are adopted with the greatest ardour, and as if with a spirit of rivalry. Whilst Bolivar rewards Joseph Lancaster, and bestows

on him public marks of esteem, the Emperor of Brazil causes the system of this great promoter of general knowledge to be adopted throughout the empire.

Ancient Europe cannot withstand these great strides which South America is making towards perfection; her pretensions to dominion, her ideas of legitimacy, and her right to govern that large portion of the human race, are now become mere declarations without object—threats which deserve only pity and contempt. The more prudent powers, who are capable of comparing means with ends, see the force of circumstances and yield to them for the strongest reasons. Societies so important and so consolidated, could not remain subject to a power which governs only by the indication of its own will.

So soon as the colonies of South America had become equal in population, and superior in wealth to the mother countries, it was to be expected that at no distant period, they would assert their independence; force might, for a time, impede this natural tendency, but could never increase in the same ratio with the spirit of resistance—that opportunity only was wanting, which the dissensions of Europe soon offered.

Brazil (*mirabile dictu*) was raised to independence by the very man who, if he had attended to ancient prejudices, might have asserted his right to retain her in dependant subordination. But the Emperor Pedro I. had higher views, and considering that the season for deluding mankind was past, he proposed to himself the task of directing that great community in the work of its independence; and he executed it in a manner the most honourable particularly if we consider the obstacles with which he had to contend.

The plans proper to be adopted in the political government of nations depend on various circumstances; men never agree as to all the different accessories of power, and hence civil discords arise. But there are certain truths, in reference to these points, which admit of no doubt under any system, or in any circumstances. Such are, for example, the following: That all power and all authority should be responsible—That every law should be preceded by the public discussion of its utility—That without liberty of the press there can be no security in those who govern, nor public spirit in those who are governed. On such basis is founded the system of government adopted in Brazil, and if those principles are maintained with firmness, no one can doubt the excellence of a government which proposes to attain, by such means, the great end of the public good.

The government of Brazil, although founded on so solid a basis, still required external peace, in order that she might give herself up, in undisturbed tranquillity, to the work of drawing forth those means which providence has given her for obtaining a greatness and prosperity both solid and permanent.

Such a peace is now established by the treaty concluded between the Emperor and the King his father. In consequence of this treaty the war has ceased: the pretensions of the mother-country are, for ever, at an end: the independence of Brazil is no longer a point of dispute in European diplomacy: the chimerical ideas entertained by the Kings of Portugal of sovereignty over Brazil, are renounced, never again to be brought forward—and all this has been effected without sacrifice on the part of Brazil. The King of Por-

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tugal retains only the title, a mere honorary distinction, and the sacrifice he has made was, by no means voluntary; it was an acknowledgement of the inequality of power, and of the absolute insufficiency of his means to restore the ancient subjection.

Whether better conditions might, or might not have been obtained for Portugal, is a question which it is not our present purpose to agitate. It is quite probable that better conditions might have been obtained if the acknowledgement had been sooner offered; but even these, such as they are, could not possibly have been expected if the contest had been prolonged.

It has been said by some that certain established principles have been denied or disregarded in this treaty; in what is said, for instance, of the relinquishment of sovereignty on the part of the King of Portugal, when the Emperor already held it by a more legitimate tenure: but when the treaty is considered as a mere record of the ceding on the one hand, and receiving on the other, what each of the contracting parties already had or conceived himself to have, no one can blame the receiving, as the price of peace, that which in reality was the object of the war. The Emperor received this authority from the people of Brazil when they proclaimed him, and for three years waged open war against the pretensions of his father, who claimed that authority as belonging to him alone. When, therefore, by this treaty, the King of Portugal gives up that claim, the case reverts to what it was before the war; that is to say, the public authority remains vested in him to whom the

people of Brazil have given it, to the exclusion of him who would have held it contrary to their will. This is self-evident.

The acknowledgment of the independence of Brazil strengthened, or rather consolidated, that of the other South American States. The pretensions of Spain become now ridiculous in the eyes of Europe. A right which possesses no means of maintaining itself may last for a time in the imagination of some, but cannot resist the acknowledgment of the governments *de facto* on the part of other nations whose interests require it. On this principle Mr. Canning answers the complaints of Spain in the document we have transcribed. This state paper deserves the greatest attention, not only from that force of reasoning and energy of style which manifest the great talents of its author, but also because it explains without prevarication or disguise the motives of England's political conduct in the most remarkable transaction of this or the last century. It is impossible to look at this paper without seeing that a new era is arrived in diplomacy, and that the cunning and sophistry, and all that verbose ambiguity and confused phraseology which characterized the notes between the different cabinets, are about to give place to a manner at once direct, noble, and firm, of arriving at an *ultimatum* by keeping truth only in view. As the subject of this note is connected with the independence of South America generally, we trust that we may be permitted to offer some further comment on the principles it contains and certain facts which it admits.

Mr. Canning begins by asserting that neither the law of nations nor the existing treaties with Spain

have been violated by the acknowledgment, on the part of England, of the governments established *de facto*, and now out of the reach of any European attack. He further establishes as a principle and political maxim, that there are cases, there are circumstances, in which a government *de facto* may be acknowledged as independent; and that in such cases and circumstances it must be permitted to other governments to establish amiable relations with it, or at least the common relations between one nation and another. Long before the independence of Holland and Portugal was acknowledged by Spain, those governments were recognized by many European powers.

As to the example of Buonaparte referred to by the Spanish minister Zea, Mr. Canning answers, that not only all the powers of Europe, and Spain with the rest, had recognized his government, but that even England acknowledged it by making peace with him; that even in 1814, peace would have been concluded with Buonaparte (already Emperor) had his pretensions not been so unreasonable; and that in fact Spain herself well knows that it was a question with the allies, even after treating with Buonaparte, whether it were possible to place another sovereign on the throne to the exclusion of the Bourbons.

Nothing can be more frank or explicit, nor is it possible to establish on firmer bases the necessity of often acknowledging governments *de facto*. Although every state possesses the unalienable right to constitute, as they think best, alter, as they deem expedient, their form of government, we know how much more frequently absolute power uses the sword than the balance of Justice. But who can call the unanimous

will of millions rebellion? Before what tribunal can the rebellion be established or the delinquents punished? By what law is the legitimacy of acquisition so sanctioned as to render resistance a crime? But it were idle and useless to discuss this question after what was said of the independence of the United States by two of the greatest statesmen of the last century Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham. We may dispose of the question in two words "To your right: says all South America; to the pretensions of Spain is opposed, the injustice of its origin: to the fitness of your government, the ocean between us; and to the efforts of your ambition, our courage and our arms. Your dominion has lasted thus long because we were few and uncultivated, now that we are equal in number and equal in civilization, the contest also will, at least, be equal."

There is every reason, however, to believe that the cabinets of ancient Europe (some at least amongst them) have not ceased in their endeavours to bring about division in the policy of those infant states, in order to bring about, by manœuvres and intrigues, what they cannot effect by force. The period is apt; the opinions of men do not easily accord on matters of government; the passions are in full sway when questions of that nature are agitated, and we cannot hope to see many Washingtons or Bolívars. The relation of these states towards each other, their territorial boundaries, and what they owe towards each other in order to obtain the common object of the great union of America, all these, added to their internal policy are points upon which the will of so many millions cannot be expected to be unanimous, however they may unite in the great end of a separation from

Europe. It is therefore desirable to establish, on each of these different points, one opinion throughout South America; and this was the useful aim of Bolivar in the meeting of the Panama congress. May it have its proper effect to the extent intended by that generous and meritorious patriot! Let us hope that the demon of discord may be far from their councils, and the presiding men may not be so infatuated as to seek to legislate; when they should employ persuasion, to rule rather than to conciliate; and above all, that they may not extend their deliberations further than is expedient.

The principles of this congress are set forth in the circular address to all the American States, dated 5th of December. 1824, and signed by Bolivar, (It is transcribed in document No 3)—These principles, being so general as they are laid down in that paper, must necessarily be open to great difference of opinion in the discussion between the representatives of the various American states. We have therefore reason to apprehend, that the result of this confederation will be attended with many difficulties; but it may evidently be both useful and effective, if it have for its first end the union of forces against the attempts at re-colonization on the part of the European powers; and for the second, a firm compact, which will not allow the establishment of absolute power without responsibility. Any thing beyond this will serve only to excite passion and occasion the most mischievous reaction.

The Liberator says in this circular, that "it was time to agree upon a basis on which to rest the interest and relations of the American states; that it was neces-

ary to establish an authority which might serve as the faithful interpreter of treaties, and the mediator in contentions, that it was necessary to fix an international code, to consolidate the political existence of so many newly constituted states;" and that all this could not be effected without the meeting of the representatives of the states in some appointed place (such as the isthmus of Panama), there to form themselves into a general assembly and agree as to their own attributes.

The idea is certainly grand and noble; but all its effect and practical advantage will depend on the attributes which these representatives arrogate to themselves.

There are certain questions on the internal policy of states which cannot be confided to the judgment of foreigners; the questions or differences between governments can never be subjected to the same rules as those which arise between individuals. There are cases which reject every species of arbitration or reference. If the representatives of the American states in the congress of Panama, apply themselves to the determining the territorial limits and to regulate the internal policy of the states they respectively represent, we can only look for dissension instead of harmony, for disagreement where they should accord, and in the place of peace, war and perpetual tumult. If there are certain points of essential and vital importance to all the states of South America, and with respect to which it would be of general utility to establish a firm accord and unanimity, there are others concerning which, as they possess only a relative interest to each state, no uniform will can be expected.

Thus, if it is expedient generally for all the American states to unite their means and to agree upon the contingent of each towards resisting the attempts of Europe; if also it is generally useful to the common cause that they engage never to permit the establishment in America of absolute government, or irresponsible power in the hands of one man (a power which is incompatible with any social improvement)—if all this is useful to adopt in principle, and if it is desirable to agree on the means of rendering such principle effective, it is equally certain that all which may be aimed at beyond these limits will be hurtful rather than advantageous to the peace and tranquillity of America. Neither the forms of their respective governments, the matters touching their municipal regulations, the questions of limits, nor the federation of those states which cannot of their own resources exist in a state of independence, ought to be points for the interference of the congress.

The accounts lately received by way of Colombia respecting the opening of the conferences at this congress, represent the principal points of discussion to be the organization of means for the common defence, and assisting the Greeks in their noble enterprize. Let us hope it may be so, that we may have motives of congratulation in such laudable resolutions.

The government of Buenos Ayres does not accede very willingly to the congress of Panama. By the representation to the general constituent congress, signed by the executive government (which we have copied above) the extreme reluctance is seen with which the chiefs of that republic submit to the decisions of the congress of Panama. Generally speaking

(and without wishing to insist on this point) it cannot be denied that this government of Buenos Ayres has always been the most unquiet of all those of South America, which demonstrates the existence of a spirit of turbulence and ambition in its chiefs, neither according with equality nor with republican moderation. Whether we look to their internal dissensions, or to their disputes with those of the other bank of the river Plata, to their manœuvres and intrigues against Brazil, or to this unwillingness to accede to the Panama congress, or lastly to the recent separation from this government of the provinces of Upper Peru, it is evident that neither the Las Heras, nor the Garcias, nor the Ribadasias of Buenos Ayres, are men capable of guiding the destinies of that people; that much ambition to command exists there, and that their patriotism is adulterated and impure.

It seems in punishment, as it were, of the erroneous policy there followed, that this republic is declining into insignificance, and principally since the provinces of Upper Peru have declared their independence, under the decision of the general congress of those four provinces (assembled in consequence of Bolivar's decree, dated from Arequipa the 10th of last May, and copied above.) Even the municipality of Tareja, which belongs to Salta, has separated itself from that province, and united itself to Upper Peru.

Thus situated, the republic of Buenos Ayres, which, as a vice-royalty, at the epoch of the revolution in 1810, comprised the presidency of Charcos, the intendencies of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Potosi, La Paz, Cochobamba, Cordova, and Salta, comprehending an hundred and forty three thousand and fourteen square

leagues, and according to Humboldt, a population of one million one hundred thousand, is now reduced to a population of scarcely five hundred thousand, taking it for granted that the other bank of the river will, without any doubt remain united to the empire of Brazil, by which the inhabitants can be better protected than by the insignificant republic of Buenos Ayres.

The future fate of the American states depends much on their commercial relations with Europe; and as they are all actually concluding their commercial treaties, it is to be hoped that experience will teach them to despise the restrictive system, which not only has occasioned most destructive wars, but has thwarted industry, and prevented the investment of capital in those enterprises to which it was naturally led by the impulse of individual interest. The products of South America may be called tropical, and are such as cannot possibly be produced in Europe. Instead, therefore, of employing the labour, and investing the capital of America in any other objects for which the soil, the climate, and the genius of the people are less adapted than the soil, the climate, and the genius of the inhabitants of Europe, it is of the utmost importance to direct their industry and their capital to those objects which are most congenial to their situation.

It is certainly a correct idea of the political economists that there is a territorial division of commerce between all the nations of the world; and that the wealth and public prosperity of each, advance more rapidly when they apply only to that branch of industry to which they are most apt. Providence, in bestowing on nations different soils, different climates, and different productions, seems to have predestined the nature of the commerce and communication which

should take place between them. When trade, therefore, is unrestricted, each country will naturally apply itself to that species of labour from which it derives the most ready and the greatest profit, and which is, therefore, most expedient for it. Mr. Pitt was the first who attempted to realize this luminous idea, in the treaty of commerce concluded with France in 1786; but neither the eloquence nor the splendid talents of that great statesman could stand, at that period, against the common prejudices with which the public mind was impressed on the utility of the restrictive system in protecting every branch of domestic industry.

This system, therefore, should be abandoned by the American states. They should all apply themselves particularly to extend the sphere of their industry, and to the investment of their capital in those products which are peculiar to their soil and climate, without regarding as detrimental the amount of what else they may require, and which they can bring from without, at a less price than they can raise it. In as much as these imports will always be equalled by the exports, if they import European manufactures, it is clear that, in return, they will export an equal amount in sugar, cotton, coffee, cacao, tobacco, and Brazil wood. It is towards the cultivation, then, of these tropical productions, that the industry of America should be directed: and their custom houses should be rather opened to those articles which are brought in exchange for the produce of America, than closed against them.

No nation whatever (any more than any individual) can be benefited by unprofitable speculations; and it

is therefore a most miserable prejudice to insist on making that at home, which can be procured cheaper and better from abroad. I do not mean to say that the new American states should not seek to establish any other than the existing species of culture, or that they should not seek to work in and produce that of which the raw material is abundant, and the manufacture of which is easy; my idea is limited to the position, that the policy of the new states should not resemble that of ancient Europe; that they should not persist in the obstinate determination to maintain manufactories which produce bad commodities, and at higher prices than those at which foreigners sell us the same or better articles. If such manufactories are established, capital must not be forced into that branch, under the notion that, by so absurd a system, wealth can be confined within the limits of an empire. In return for the merchandize which foreigners bring us (because we can neither produce it so good or so cheap), they take from us that which we can produce with advantage, as being peculiar to our territory or our culture.

What matters it, for example, that the English give up the silk manufactures of which they cannot produce the raw material, and allow the French, who do possess the raw material, to supply them? The consequence will be, that in exchange for the quantity of silk which the French import, they will carry away an equal amount in cottons or hardware. Buying and selling in matters of commerce are like a physical action and re-action. There are some who seek to acquire popularity by declaiming against the use of foreign commodities; but the calculation is

much more exact of those who maintain, that all we refuse to buy from foreigners, they, in amount, will refuse to buy from us; and that the demand for the produce of our industry, will always be proportioned to the amount we have imported from them.

In this respect, and with reference generally to the subject of commercial relations, we are glad to see that these are ideas which the new states in South America are adopting with various degrees of modification. The bad policy of ancient Europe offers an excellent lesson to the new states of America. In the legislative chart of Europe, the shoals are decidedly marked, and it is to be hoped they will steer clear of them.

One document we have copied which clearly shews how much the old maxims of the European statesmen, with respect to the true source of wealth, are despised in America. A bank for circulation and deposit has been established in Chili, and the first, the leading idea set forth in treating of this establishment, is, that the produce of the mines is but a factitious wealth, and that the real riches of a state are derived solely from agriculture and industry. If this maxim become well understood in America, and the governments and individuals adhere to it with a firm conviction of its importance, what progress may we not expect to see in wealth and civilization!

The colonies of South America did not arise out of a redundancy of population in the mother countries (like those of the Greeks), nor for the establishment of military stations of defence (like those of Rome), but the Spaniards and Portuguese were led to form their establishments in that vast continent, solely for

the cocoa for the especial use of the court of Madrid, was formerly gathered. There are many mines of silver in the provinces; and as these are at present the favourite speculation of British adventurers, we will hereafter give a description of them.

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Guatemala remained subject to Spain till 1821. From 1821 to 1823, the epoch of its absolute independence, it went through various eventful changes worthy of record. The new-born republics of America may be likened to the slaves who, escaping from the prisons of Algiers, excited to such a pitch the public curiosity respecting the story of their late misfortunes, that every one was anxious to accost and interrogate them regarding the sufferings they had endured, and their past perils: a curiosity honourable to the human heart. But what feeling should be more intensely interesting to mankind than the desire of knowing by what changes, perils, and anxieties, a people have obtained the imprescriptible right of liberty? We will therefore give a rapid delineation of Guatemala as a colony, and the figure it now assumes as a free and independent nation.

Sometime before the year 1821, the minds of the inhabitants of Guatemala had been prepared for shaking off the yoke of Spain.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

Bolívar is yet in Upper Peru, having visited Arequipa and other places, and in every part has been received by the inhabitants with the greatest enthusiasm and rejoicing. He was to proceed to La Paz, Potosi, and other departments to the southward, and is expected to return to Lima about December.

A considerable number of emigrants, (all of them farmers, mechanics, and miners) had arrived at Peru in different vessels from England and Scotland. Most of the miners had proceeded to their respective destinations; but great dissatisfaction prevailed among the farmers and mechanics; and it is probable that the plan of forming a distinct settlement in a distant part of the province, after making the attempt, would, at least in the case above referred to, be abandoned.

By the Buenos Ayres *Argos*, it appears that the municipality of Tarifa had assumed to itself extraordinary powers, and dismembered that district from the province of Salta, and incorporated itself with Upper Peru.

Monte Video is occupied by the Brazilians, and though the *Campaneiros* patriots have the possession of the country, the Brazilians have the entire controul at sea, and can at all times supply the city, whilst its walls prevent the approach of the enemy by land. Some hopes are entertained, that Sir Charles Stuart,

will intercede with the Emperor, and endeavour to compromise matters.

Several Numbers of the *Argus*, mention a sedition which had broken out at San Juan, and to repress which, troops had been sent from the province of Mendoza. In the last Number of that paper, is a despatch from the commander of the division, dated 20th September, giving the particulars of a complete victory obtained over the rebels, at a place called Lema. It is said to have been decisive, and that the victorious party was received under triumphal arches, by the inhabitants of the town and vicinity of San Juan, who expressed the greatest satisfaction in having peace, and tranquillity, restored among them. This Number also states, that private letters bring information, that the priest Astorga, author and chief of the revolution of that place, and other clergymen, deeply involved in the plot, had been banished by the state of Chili; and that various other individuals of the same class, and some seculars had been mulcted in large sums of money.

The Colombian corvette *Urica* (thirty-two guns) and the frigate *Ceres* (thirty-two guns) left Porto Cabella under the command of General Lino Clementi, for the purpose of joining a fleet of seven frigates and a seventy-four gun ship, under the Mexican flag at Carthagena. Rumour, of course, was busy in naming the point of attack to be made by the combined fleet, the station of each commander, the probability of its success, and the certain glory to be acquired by the united efforts of South American valour. The island of Cuba being the only prominent hold of the royalists worthy the first consideration of the south war,

supposed to be the intended point of this united exertion.

General Mendez left the city of Caraccas on the 14th of November to proceed on his mission, as one of the plenipotentiaries to the congress of Panama, about to be held there. It is remarkable, that at Caraccas, it was understood that the president of the United States had declined sending any representative to that assembly; but we now ascertain, by the president's speech, that ministers on the part of the United States will be commissioned to attend at those deliberations, and to take part in them.

A property-tax of ten per cent. has been imposed by the Colombian government on every class of the inhabitants—a measure very much declaimed against by the journals, as tending to cramp the rising industry of the country.

The departmental elections were proceeding. In that of Apare, General Bolivar had been unanimously elected president, and General Santander vice-president.

Colombia, as an independent government, has taken a rank among nations, and will, we have little doubt, become powerful by land and sea. The treaty between her and the United States, is alike favourable to both republics. The 12th article embraces one very important point, viz. "that free ships make free goods," and *vice versa*, as we suppose.

The light of science already begins to dawn, and liberal principles will be diffused, as she extends her ray, through this dark and superstitious country. Bolivar, whose name means every thing that is great

and good, has given to Mr. Lancaster twenty thousand dollars, to be applied to the promotion of schools, with a promise of more, should it be requisite. Thus, with the aid of presses, which are now established in Colombia, the people will become gradually enlightened, and shake off that yoke, and divest themselves of those barbarian and superstitious notions, which the king of Spain and his courtiers, while the Colombians continued his slaves, found it his interest for them to wear and to encourage. This wonderful revolution, in the course of a few years, is the work of one man—Bolívar, the Washington of the south.

The spirit of monopoly is there yet too much encouraged, as the mercantile information states. It savours, we think, of monarchical principles, more than is, perhaps, compatible with a people who wish to be, or are governed by good and wholesome laws. We allude to the privilege which the government has granted to one man to navigate the Lagoon of Maracaibo by steam, whereby five hundred persons of equal pretensions are deprived of the means of thus investing their funds, to the great inconvenience of the public, who have to submit to whatever sum the monopolist think proper to impose. However, it is not unlikely that the government will turn its attention to the welfare of the citizen, and particularly to those who have borne the burden and heat of the revolutionary day.

We have reason to believe that an immediate recognition of the republic of Colombia by the French government will take place. If we hesitate to pledge ourselves absolutely for this important fact, it is at the same time our duty to state, that the intelligence has reached us through a good channel, and that it

in altogether in harmony with the recent tone of the ministerial journals, under M. de Villele's influence. France, while under the house of Bourbon, has been already brought to recognize a republican government, built in spite of, and on the ruins of despotism (of the despotism too of another Bourbon);—a double triumph has been gained for the interest of civilized society. There is in this homage to the new-born freedom of South America, all that could humble the false pride of legitimacy, and subvert its whole system of argument, law, and practice. If no political institution is to be tolerated but that which has been established by some royal will,—if such, as we have heard from princes and ministers, be the basis and first element of the Holy Alliance;—why here, we say, is one which none of you can tolerate—which all of you must combine to crush, Colombia, nay, America itself, as under the ban of legitimacy; it is all treason, all rebellion, all steeped in guilt from Mexico to Cape Horn. Here, then, is a case for the application of your principles. Here is not a solitary institution, but a series of institutions—a state, nay, a category of states, founded on that identical principle, which the Holy Alliance and the king of France, as a member of it, have declared to be inconsistent with the safety of sovereigns, and irredeemably condemned by them to destruction. If the Holy Alliance be faithful to its own pledge, it must make war upon the rebel states of South America: if it can do nothing, by hostilities or persuasion, to enforce its own system of politics upon mankind, why then it is a helpless and ludicrous league—a confederacy of preachers, not of potentates.

Afterwards there is to be trade between France and South America, and this leads us to the second branch of the victory obtained by nations over courtiers. The first was that of the principle of resistance, which placed the house of Brunswick on the English throne. The second is that of the enlightened system of commerce; which the government of George IV. has just established for his subjects, and which all other states will be forced to imitate, if they ever hope to follow the march of England in public prosperity, even at that humble distance which still separates them from the sphere which she traverses unrivalled. It was the prediction of Mr. Huskisson, and he deserves to have it faithfully remembered, that free trade would produce advantages to this country, which would compel other states to follow her example. The prediction is verifying every day: the new code of commercial intercourse stands on truth and wisdom, and is formed of matter that will endure.

By the *Lively*, lately arrived at Plymouth, from Vera Cruz, the important intelligence has been received of the surrender, which has been for some time expected, of the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, to the Mexicans. This event took place on the 17th of November; the ratifications were exchanged on the following day, and on the 19th, the officers and part of the garrison were embarked for Havannah. Their arrival at that place is mentioned in letters from thence of the 6th of December. This event secures to the Mexicans the entire possession of the country, and gives them the advantage of free access to their best port in the Gulf of Mexico, viz. Vera Cruz.

The remnant of the garrison at the castle of San

Juan de Ulloa, was a hundred and sixty men. The articles of the capitulation are very simple, viz. the castle and its appurtenances, is surrendered by the Spaniards; the garrison to retain its arms and private property, and to be transported to the Havannah, at the expense of Mexico; all private property to be given up to its owners, on paying the customary duties.

No more than forty-six men remained fit for duty—three hundred and fifty were buried since the month of August, and about a hundred and twenty-six remained to be cured.

We here annex a proclamation issued on the occasion by the Mexican government.

Fellow Countrymen—The flag of the republic floats on the Castle of Ulloa. I announce to you with indescribable pleasure, that at the end of three hundred and four years, the standards of Castile have disappeared from our shores.

It was my first care, on succeeding to the seat of power by your free election, to declare with an absolute confidence, founded on your valour, that the obstinate Iberian would reduce his dominions within their ancient limits. The day of so much glory and so much happiness for our country has now arrived.

Mexicans,—By the path of blood, traced in the town of Dolores, you marched to obtain a decisive triumph. It has cost you the life of your heroes, the sacrifice of innumerable victims, the ruin and conflagration of your homes. Despotism has been extinguished in a sea of blood and tears!

Vera Cruz, the illustrious Vera Cruz, supporting the national cause, has brought this glorious work to a conclusion. There a handful of brave men, struggling with the climate, and with death in all its aspects, has triumphed on the ashes of that heroic city. A page of sorrow and of horror will eternally preserve the memory

of the invincible people who braved, by their own force, and deprived of all the resources of war, the extremities which the hopes of tyranny had dared to threaten. Vera Cruz has acquired an immortal renown, which will extend its glory to the remotest corners of the earth. It deserves the national gratitude. I have been a witness of its unlimited sufferings; the highest authorities of the nation are acquainted with it. Vera Cruz may hope for every thing from their justice and esteem.

Fellow Countrymen,—The providence of the Eternal has produced an order of things entirely new. All wounds are closed—
all distrust and jealousy have disappeared. Wherever we direct our eyes, we see only brothers and friends. All opinions, all sects, all parties group themselves around the national flag: ungrounded fears and hopeless sedition will never return to disturb the repose of the great family. Passions have died; union founds its rights on common interests, on generous principles, and on your noble dispositions. Unhappy will he be who would sow discord—more unhappy still would he be who would break your fraternal bonds. The country will avenge its wrongs.

My friends, the past belongs to the domain of history; to you it belongs to secure a future of happiness and prosperity. Time is short; and Mexico, by your hands, will be raised to the summit of its destinies. Who does not now begin to see the endless progression of our power, of our trade, and our felicity?

Mexico, presenting one aspect to Europe, and another to Asia, offers the riches of her virgin bosom for the reciprocal commerce, relations, and utility of mankind. Mexico, rising from the degradation of slavery with the majesty of free nations, ancient and modern, displays a sublime and august character, which policy has subjected to its calculations, and cabinets to their views. The Spanish Colossus, pressed by its own weight, has fallen; great nations have arisen from its ruins—Mexico raises its head: the feeling of its dignity occupies the world. This, fellow-citizens, is the work of your hands.

My friends, in communicating to you this intelligence of un-

speaking importance, I furnish to the nation an account of my cares and my exertions. Now that the issue corresponds to my wishes, I feel a pride in what I have done; and I may be permitted to congratulate myself that the year 1825 approaches a termination as happy and prosperous as its commencement. Still, the nation may yet gather laurels in a wide field, if the cabinets of Europe conform to the light of the age, and accommodate their policy to interests so solemnly sanctioned on this continent. We shall cultivate the free relations of peace and friendship with all the world. This great republic will be not less esteemed and applauded for the richness of its soil, than for the equity and benevolence of the citizens who compose it. Mexicans! an epoch approaches of boundless felicity.

Glory, fellow citizens, to the brave general who has terminated the labour of four years by the conquest of this hostile fortress. Glory and honour to the brave who there have purchased this day of national joy with their fatigues, their blood, and their heroic sufferings. A grateful country, duly estimating their services, will know how to reward them.

Fellow Citizens! Long live the Mexican republic!

(Signed)

GAUDALUPE VICTORIA.

Mexico, Nov. 23, 1825.

GUATEMALA.

(Extracted from the New Monthly Magazine.)

America, just raised to independence, and which, as a discovery, laid open by the calculations of genius, fixed the attention of the sixteenth century, deserves no less to occupy the undivided consideration of the nineteenth. Some of the new republics have already employed the pen of the politician; and several of them have lately been visited and described by travellers. One of them, however, the Federal Republic of Central America, in consequence perhaps of its having been the last to emancipate itself, has not yet attracted the notice of writers. Isolated in the midst of the New World, and without commercial relations, in consequence of its harbours being closed, the bare existence of the kingdom of Guatemala was all that was known respecting it. But two years have elapsed since that vast region elevated itself to the rank of an independent republic, and assumed the title, not yet generally disseminated, of the Republic of Central America. This beautiful country, as an elegant writer of Guatemala expresses himself, was till then a rose shut up in its bud! At present, not only by reason of its new political aspect, but also on account of its valuable and multifarious productions, to say nothing of its extent, it demands a distinct place in the geography of modern America, and claims forcibly the attention of the commercial world.

The geographical position of Guatemala is most favourable, and conducive to the extension of its riches and power. It is situated in the centre between North and South America, having on one side the republic of Colombia, and that of Mexico on the other. It is washed equally by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and thus admirably placed so as to carry on those extensive relations which

it will establish with all the nations of the Old and New World at some future day. The superficial extent of Guatemala is twenty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-two square leagues, varying much in quality, height, exposure, temperature, and fertility. From this superficies it may be seen that it is larger than Spain in Europe, or the republic of Chili in the New World. From the summits of the mountains which cross the territory of Guatemala, numerous rivers descend, that fertilize the soil through which they flow, refreshing the atmosphere, and discharging themselves into the Northern and Southern Oceans. Some of these rivers are partly navigable, such as the Motagua, L'Ulua, L'Aguan, &c. many others might easily be made so, were the scheme encouraged by the government, or were it an object of private speculation: and no doubt, we shall behold the government seriously occupying itself with this important improvement as the prospects and resources of the nation unfold themselves. The great lake of Nicaragua, which is one hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, lies in the territory of this republic: a circumstance that will perhaps be one of the active concurring causes to make it an emporium of commerce, if the design of opening a communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic, by means of that lake and of the river San Juan de Nicaragua, be carried into effect. This undertaking several mercantile houses in London and North America are even now desirous of entering upon. The territory of Central America is accessible by numerous harbours. Towards the north are the ports of the Gulph, Omca, Truxillo, San Juan, and Matina; and on the south those of Ricoia, Realexo, Conchagua, Acajutla, Izapa, &c. The productions of the soil are almost innumerable; nature never appearing tired of conferring her bounties; and the succession of the fruits and produce of all kinds is uninterrupted through the year.

E. mentre spunta l'un l'altro maturo. —TASSO.

The two productions most known to commerce, and most esteemed, are indigo and cochineal. In the province of Soconusco,

the cocoa for the especial use of the court of Madrid, was formerly gathered. There are many mines of silver in the provinces; and as these are at present the favourite speculation of British adventurers, we will hereafter give a description of them.

According to Baron Humboldt, in 1822, the population of the ancient kingdom of Guatemala did not exceed one million six hundred thousand souls. These calculations, however, by the acknowledgment of M. Humboldt himself in a letter to Bolivar, are only vague conjectures, which require to be rectified by accurate statistical data. Senor del Valle is of opinion that the population of Guatemala cannot be less than two millions. He remarks that no pestilential diseases have occurred in that country for many years; that it has not been exposed to devastating wars like Buenos Ayres, Chili, Peru, Colombia, and New Spain. Articles of provision are to be met with there at lower prices than in Mexico; and marriages are more prolific. According, therefore, to the opinion of Senor del Valle, which appears by no means ill founded, the population of Guatemala may be estimated to exceed that of Venezuela, Peru, Chili, and perhaps of Buenos Ayres.

Guatemala remained subject to Spain till 1821. From 1821 to 1823, the epoch of its absolute independence, it went through various eventful changes worthy of record. The new-born republics of America may be likened to the slaves who, escaping from the prisons of Algiers, excited to such a pitch the public curiosity respecting the story of their late misfortunes, that every one was anxious to accost and interrogate them regarding the sufferings they had endured, and their past perils; a curiosity honourable to the human heart. But what feeling should be more intensely interesting to mankind than the desire of knowing by what changes, perils, and anxieties, a people have obtained the imprescriptible right of liberty? We will therefore give a rapid delineation of Guatemala as a colony, and the figure it now assumes as a free and independent nation.

Sometime before the year 1821, the minds of the inhabitants of Guatemala had been prepared for shaking off the yoke of Spain.

The journals, the writings, and opinions of men of influence, had kindled in the breast of the natives, a love of their country: together with the charm of liberty, the dignity and advantages ever concomitant with independence, were demonstrated to them. The fire, which for a long time had lain smothered under the ashes, was at last fanned into a flame. On the 15th of September, 1821, the general wish for independence was openly manifested; and that day of the month became a solemn and beloved anniversary which the constituent assembly decreed every year should be celebrated with patriotic festivities, religious pomp, and donations to the poorest young persons of the capital who had married during the preceding twelvemonth. The spirit of independence spread with the celerity of electric fire; and the deputies of Guatemala, who took part in the cortes of Madrid as the representatives for that nation, joining in the shout of joy raised by their countrymen, echoed in Madrid, in December, 1821, the cry of their country in a splendid banquet, and united their vows to those of their fellow-citizens.

But before Guatemala had well shaken off one yoke, it was doomed to fall under another, less galling, however, and ignominious than the first. Mexico, which had proclaimed her independence at the same time, was desirous of forming one state in conjunction with Guatemala, and saw with displeasure that these provinces desired to constitute themselves a separate and independent nation. The government of Mexico, therefore, sent the commandant Filisola, an Italian, with some troops to prevent the threatened separation. The machinations of the captain-general, in unison with the views of the Mexican government—the wishes expressed by many towns and cities, gained over by cabal—and the rumour industriously propagated, that Filisola came with an imposing force (when in reality he had no more than seven hundred men), tended to make it appear that the union of Guatemala with Mexico was voluntary, although, in fact, that union was but the effect of deceit and violence. The efforts of many of the citizens to set aside that forcible and absurd connexion

proved abortive; the voice of Senor del Valle on that occasion was not listened to, nor were the wishes of several patriots sufficiently favoured by fortune. These generous lovers of their country were not permitted to reap the fruit of their courage and eloquence, until two years afterwards, in 1823. The province of San Salvador, however, and a part of that of Nicaragua, refused, from the first moment, to submit to Mexico. They took up arms in defence of their independence; and although assailed by the forces of Filisola, reinforced by the troops of the province of Guatemala, prolonged their resistance until the public opinion of all the provinces, on the 21st of June, 1823, spoke out again in favour of complete independence.

Guatemala, united to Mexico by force and political cabal, followed for some time, the fate of that empire, and sent deputies to the Mexican congress; and when, on the 16th of October, 1822, that congress was dissolved by the powerful hand of Iturbide, Guatemala submitted to the yoke of the usurper.

The fall of Iturbide was the signal for the recovery of her independence; and, in consequence, on the 24th of June, 1823, Guatemala declared herself an independent state. Every thing was now in her favour. The commandant Filisola, who had had opportunities of knowing the true wants and wishes of the people of that country, instead of opposing the insurrection, gave all his assistance to help it forward; although the motive which induced him to give such co-operation, was not perhaps of the most generous nature.

Animated with the desire of becoming the chief of the new republic of Guatemala, he was in hopes, by such an adhesion, to open to himself the road to power. The congress of Mexico, having become more wise from experience, and more just by reason of its own misfortunes, a few months afterwards acknowledged the independence of Guatemala. But the army (that terrible element of modern society!), which had first given oppression, and subsequently liberty to the country, threatened again to overthrow the republic, and to place a usurper on its ruins. On

the 14th of September, 1823, a dangerous conspiracy against the government broke out among several corps of the army, and the fate of the republic was for two days undecided. During this time, the sittings of the constituent assembly were suspended, broils and combats arose in the streets, while the hall of the assembly served as a fort to the patriots against the attacks of the military. At last patriotism stood forth triumphant; and Captain Ariza, the contriver of the conspiracy against the government, was constrained to fly, while a sergeant of artillery, his accomplice, suffered the punishment of death, a penalty which he had most deservedly incurred. The troops which had rebelled, were disbanded, praises were prodigally bestowed on the courage and patriotism of the inhabitants of Guatemala, and the names of those who, during these days, had sacrificed their lives in fighting for their country, were engraved on marble in the hall of the congress. It may boldly be asserted, if we except this momentary storm, that the tree of Guatemalan liberty is almost the only one which has not been watered by a great effusion of blood.

Guatemala had scarcely raised the standard of independence, on the 24th of June, 1823, when measures were taken to nominate a constituent assembly, by which the basis of a constitution, fit for a federal republic, might be arranged, and through the medium of which it might be presented for approval to the five states composing the nation.

After some months the labours of the assembly were completed. The model which served to guide the legislators of Guatemala, was the republican form of the United States of America, together with that of Colombia. All the nascent republics of America felt the necessity of constituting the New World on one and the same principle.

A worthy and enlightened American, Senor Rocafuerte (now chargé d'affaires of Mexico in London) some years ago, in a book entitled "El Systema Columbiano," demonstrated the necessity of following the republican plan: and, coinciding with this view of the case, the constituent assembly of Guatemala adopted

as their form of government the system of a representative federal republic ; vesting the legislative power in a federal congress and a senate. The congress is elected by the people, and is half renewed every year. Each state sends a representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants. The senate is composed of members popularly elected, in the ratio of two for each state. That body has the right of sanctioning all the resolutions made in congress ; and a third part is renewed annually, the individuals going out being eligible to be re-elected. The executive power is exercised by a president nominated by the inhabitants of the different states of the federation. The offices of president and vice-president (both nominated in the same way) last for four years, and the individuals who fill them may, without any interval, be once re-elected. The constitution abolishes slavery, establishes individual liberty, and guarantees the freedom of the press. The republic is at present divided into five states ; Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Each of these states is free and independent as to its provincial government and internal administration.

On the 20th of February, 1825, the constituent assembly was dissolved, and the federal congress succeeded it, which swore to maintain the constitution on the 10th of last April. Senor Del Valle, who until that time had been president of the executive power, on resigning his office, pronounced an eloquent speech at the opening of that congress. It is impossible sufficiently to praise that estimable citizen, for the good which he has effected for his country. In the speech to which we have alluded, while reminding his auditory of the importance of the duties of a representative, he made use of the following eloquent language : "The people believe that, from the moment they have made choice of a citizen to be a representative, the private character of the man should cease, and nothing exist but his public capacity : that self should die, and nothing live in him but his country ; that the individual should disappear, and his country only be seen ; that all personal likes and dislikes should be annihilated, and

nothing survive but the sublime and delightful sentiment of patriotism."

The journals, the acts of the republic, and the speeches of many statesmen which we carry in our recollection, are so well composed, and so sound in principle, that they afford the best refutation of the assertions of those who (by way of desperate resistance to truth and fact!) declare the American people not sufficiently polished, enough matured, or too uncultivated to live under a free and independent form of government.

The Indians who people the republic of Guatemala have not a common origin. The descent of a great proportion of them may undoubtedly be traced from the Julteca Indians, who, after having conquered Mexico, extended their dominion even to the territory of the present Guatemalan republic. Nevertheless, before their conquests, that part of America was peopled by different nations; and the Jultecas, on entering the Mexican kingdom, found it occupied by the Chichimecas. Were all the Indians of this republic descended from the stock of the Jultecas, they would universally speak nearly the same dialect; on the contrary, as the natives of this country speak many and opposite languages, it is to be presumed that they are descended from divers nations. In the provinces of Quiché and Potonicapon, in a part of Quezaltenego, and in the town of Rabinal, the inhabitants make use of the languages of Quiché; that is to say, of the Jultecas. In Gueguetenago, in a part of Quezaltenago, and in the province of Soconusco, the Mam or Pocoman language is spoken; and in no kingdom in the New World are so many and so different dialects heard, as in the confines of Guatemala. The languages which are known and have a name, as those of Quiché, Mam, Pipil, Zoque, Chol, Lenca, Maga, &c. alone, amount to twenty-six. Many of these languages, however, have some analogy to each other; and, generally speaking, are very difficult to acquire, having a strong, harsh, guttural sound, and the signification being changed by only laying a greater or less stress on the words.

Charles V. ordered the Dominican friars to instruct all the

Indians in the Spanish language, merely to facilitate among them the introduction of the Catholic religion, since it could not have been supposed that the Castilian would ever become the organ of communication among the Indians themselves. But that wise enactment did not take effect in all parts; which is proved by some of the more uncultivated and savage Indians not understanding or speaking a word of Spanish.

Before the Spanish conquest the Indians were idolaters, and had their priests, who, on many occasions, acted as soothsayers. Subsequently, in 1524, when Don Pedro Alvarado had subdued for Spain the different kingdoms into which that vast part of America was divided, by means of the ministry of successive Spanish missionaries, the different populations embraced the Catholic religion; and many and heavy were the difficulties and dangers that these missionaries had to surmount, in order to establish the gospel. Besides the ruggedness of the roads, thirst, famine, and bad health in unwholesome climates, they had often to encounter death, rendered hideous and appalling by torments invented by the barbarity and ferocity of their indocile neophytes. Nevertheless, these holy persons left nothing untried to attain their object. They lavished presents on the Indians; caressed them; and sometimes, by means of the converted part of their wild community, putting some part of the mysteries of religion into verse, caused these compositions to be sung; and thus attracted the curiosity of the Indians, who, allured by the singing, were anxious to know the details and issue of its history. Thus it was that they initiated them into the mysteries of the new worship.

Those Indians, who did not inhabit the great cities and fortresses, were not accustomed to live in towns, after our fashion. Their towns, before the conquest, were similar to some of those which exist in the present day (called Pajuyuco); in which the houses are so dispersed, and at such a distance from each other, that a town of five hundred families not unfrequently occupies the space of a league. The missionaries, in order to baptize and instruct with more facility, collected these natives into villages, formed

after the Spanish way; the church being erected in the centre, in front of which was a square with a chapter house, jail, and other public buildings, with the houses distributed into square allotments, and rectilinear streets. Had the Spanish missionaries refrained from employing the bayonets of the soldiery, trusting their cause to the powers of persuasion, and had they not contaminated the minds of their converts with absurd superstitions and a farrago of ridiculous miracles, they would have rendered by their ministry an incalculable service to humanity.

Notwithstanding, however, the zeal of these missionaries, many Indians, a century after the conquest, were not converted to Christianity; and others, towards the year 1725, abjured that belief, and put to death three missionaries who chanced to be among them, accusing religion and the Spanish friars of having been instrumental in their slavery. At present the greater proportion of these Indians profess the Catholic religion; the most part of them, however, without understanding it. They are credulous and superstitious. In the state of Honduras, on the banks of the river Uluá, exists a tribe of Indians, from fifteen to twenty thousand, called Sicaques, who are quiet and hospitable in their disposition. They welcome most affectionately every stranger; and if such persons shew an inclination to become domiciliated among them, give them a hut, and provide them with agricultural utensils; and after a year, if they have conducted themselves well, incorporate them with their community, giving one of their daughters in marriage to each of them.

The foreigner who receives these marks of favour and hospitality should take especial care never to speak of the missionaries, whom they detest, as having uniformly been the chief agents in the work of their oppression. In the state of Honduras also, the Mosquito Indians are resident, rough in their aspect, dirty, and nearly naked. These are implacable enemies to the Spaniards, who never could subdue them. They are inhospitable, and carry on an insignificant commerce with the English alone, selling to

to them the small quantity of silver and gold which they pick up in the rivers and mines. Some of them are seen in the streets of Wallis (an English settlement), who appear like the gipsies among us, and live apart from all the other inhabitants, feeding on uncleanness and the offal which they find in the streets. Some will have them to be cannibals, but certain it is that they are still idolaters.

When we behold the disorder, narrowness, and total want of convenience in the houses of the natives of this country, and the state of misery in which they are now found, it appears incredible that the Indians before the conquest should have had palaces of such magnificence, cities so well constructed, fortresses and castles defended with so much art, and other edifices for mere ostentation and parade, on which many histories descant, and some traces still remain. The richest Indian has now nothing but a miserable house for his habitation, which, generally speaking, has only one chamber; and although sometimes their houses may contain several apartments, they are arranged without any continuity of order, and separated from each other; so that there is no instance of an Indian possessing a house inclosed in walls with any vestige of taste, notwithstanding they have the abodes of the Spaniards constantly before their eyes.

The Indians in the vicinity of Guatemala are as yet in a wild state: they speak the indigenous language, and clothe themselves like savages, if a piece of cloth with which they cover their middle, leaving all the rest of the body naked, can be denominated clothing. The females are not more covered than the men; but the bronze-like colour of their skins and their coarse physiognomies, are antidotes against the seduction of such a dress. The Indians of the other provinces are more civilized, clothing themselves after the European fashion, and speaking the Spanish tongue.

It is generally remarked, that the Indians are naturally timid and cowardly,—a fact which is perfectly established by the history of the conquest. Don Pedro Alvarado conquered the numerous

kingdoms which existed in his day with some hundred Spanish soldiers, and six thousand allied Indians from the province of Plaxaltecas. The armies of the Indian kings consisted of thirty, fifty, and sometimes eighty thousand men, if credit can be placed in the Spanish historians. But by degrees, as these Indians proceeded in civilization, they acquire courage and valour; and in the last war many of them evinced great prowess. Their principal weapon is the sabre, and several of them know how to use muskets. Many of the tribes are armed with spears, and esteemed skilful in shooting with arrows.

By the present constitution, the Indians have acquired the right of citizenship, and are placed completely on an equality with the descendants of the Spaniards. They cannot, therefore, be otherwise than attached to the new system, and many of their entire towns are open partisans of the republican government.

Under the Spanish rule, these people lived in oppression. The government, to appearance, protected them; but, in reality, their laws tended solely to keep them in ignorance and inferiority. Thus the Spanish law considered the Indians as minors during their whole life, and subjected them to a perpetual tutelage. In order to prevent instruction from penetrating to them in any way, the Spaniards were prohibited from entering Indian villages. Dancing in their own houses was not permitted; and, to the end that they might not become accomplished in the exercises of war, they were debarred from even mounting on horseback; although their country was most abundant in horses. In fine, under the Spanish sway, they were liable to be compelled by the proprietor of mines to work in those subterraneous caverns for two reals a day. These people, therefore, have cause to bless the present constitution, which has emancipated them from a state of degradation; and their emancipation would always be a powerful obstacle in the way of the pretensions and attempts of Spain, even were that power in a state of capability to aspire to the re-conquest of its colonies.

The historian Torquemada says, that these Indians, under their

kings, had colleges and seminaries for children and adults, under the superintendence of approved, prudent, and able persons. Although, in the present day, no traces of these colleges remain, nevertheless Indian parents take great pains with the education of their children. The mothers suckle their offspring till it attains the age of three years; and there is no instance of their confiding their children to a strange nurse. They carry them slung over their shoulders, wrapped up in a piece of cloth, which they tie before them. With this burden they wash, and grind, the movement of the mother serving as a gentle rocking to the child. They do not defend them from the inclemencies of wind, of rain, of sun, or of frost; nor have they any cradle but the hard ground, or at most a piece of cloth. As soon as the child can walk, they place burdens on him adapted to his strength, and at the age of five or six years, he is conducted to the fields to gather grass, or to collect wood. At a more mature age the father instructs his sons in hunting, fishing, labouring, using the bow and arrow, dancing, and other accomplishments. The mothers teach their daughters to grind, to spin cotton and pita, and to weave all kinds of cloths. They accustom them to bathe frequently, as often as twice or thrice a day. They are jealous of the honour of their daughters, and never suffer them to be absent a moment from their sight.

The Indians lead a life of great hardship, sleeping on the bare ground, with their heads wrapped in a woollen covering, and their feet exposed to the air. They eat from off the ground, without any cloth or napkin, and their chief aliment consists of maize; for, although they eat ox-flesh, game, and other mountainous animal food, it is taken in small quantities, and always accompanied with a *tortilla*, which is a cake of maize, thin, and baked on a *comal* or plate of clay, and seasoned with a small quantity of salt. They drink water, or else *chica*, which is a beverage extracted from maize, bran, or different fruits. The *chica* is a sweet drink, and also of a strong nature. The Indians are particularly partial to brandy, which they purchase in bottles, or

make in their own houses from bran, or panela, which is a sort of sugar of a very vile quality. In some villages, a bottle of brandy costs two reals, and in others four. The government has always imposed a tax on this distillation.

When they pay visits, they make use of long harangues full of repetitions; and their sons, when they accompany them on such occasions, observe the strictest silence. The Indians preserve secrets with the greatest fidelity, and would suffer death rather than reveal them. When interrogated about any thing, they never reply determinately, but always in the way of a doubt, and with a *quizas si*, which signifies perhaps.

Among the Indians in the province of Guatemala, and those of Quesaltenango, there are many who possess sheep in abundance. These persons avail themselves of the wool to weave stuffs of various kinds. The most common of these stuffs is that called *serga*, which for the most part, is a mixture of black and white wool, and is used by the Indians for clothes, as well as by other people who are employed in rough and hard labour. They weave a more ordinary sort of stuff, which scarcely deserves the name of cloth, and is destined for various purposes. The lowest price of these stuffs is a real the *vara*, which is nearly an English yard. The Indians also manufacture cotton cloth higher in price than the stuffs we have just mentioned, and of which the Indian women make use for dress, as well as the poorer classes of people in the cities.

It is by no means true, as some writers have asserted, that the Indians are inferior to Europeans in physical force, and intellectual faculties; or at least some writers have assigned too low a criterion for judging of the natives of America. With regard to physical power, if the Indians are not to be compared with Europeans in the conventional beauties of figure, many of them are their equals, or superiors in strength, and are capable of carrying loads of two hundred pounds English weight. There is no doubt that the organization of the Indians is similar to that of the European inhabitants of America; and to prove that they

possess the same facilities for acquiring any art or science, it is sufficient merely to reflect, that from among those Indians who have been placed in contact with civilized society, and instructed by priests capable of guiding their understandings, many have stood forth eminently skilled in philosophy, in theology, in jurisprudence, and in other sciences which they have been taught. In the province of Nicaragua there was an Indian ecclesiastic, not long dead, styled Doctor Ruiz, who was a scholar of no ordinary stamp. In general they make great progress in whatever studies they take up; and are particularly gifted with fluency of language and feelings of patriotism. They were the first, in 1812, to take part in the revolution of independence; and in the first constituent assembly of Guatemala, in 1823, three Indian deputies took their seats, of whom two were ecclesiastics. Besides which, an Indian was elected senator, and sat in the assembly of the republic, in the year spoken of; nor is it improbable, that in the first sittings of the congress, several Indians will appear as deputies.

In the days of the Spanish government there were few schools for the use of the Indians; and those established were but ill endowed and miserably conducted, nothing being taught in them but Castilian reading and writing. At present, primary schools are increasing, and establishing with great spirit; and, when in a subsequent article we discuss what has been done, and is intended yet to be done, by the new constitutional government in favour of public instruction, we shall not omit to mention the measures it has already taken to introduce and disseminate schools on the Lancasterian system.

It is asserted by the Spaniards, who wrote the history of the Conquest, that in the kingdom of Guatemala alone, before the arrival of Don Pedro Alvarado, thirty different nations of Indians existed. If we believe this account, and contrast that immense population with the seven hundred thousand poor and degraded Indians, who are now living in solitary dispersion throughout the vast extent of that republic, a sentiment of horror cannot but pervade every bosom, resulting from the conduct of the superstitious

court of Madrid, which, under the pretext of extirpating human sacrifices, immolated to the fiend of intolerance so many innocent people. But even supposing the assertion to be devoid of reality, there is little doubt that the lamentations which the pious Las Cazas has transmitted to posterity in favour of the Indians, are too well founded, as are also the observations made by the philosopher Raynal, while treating of the same subject, upon fanaticism and religious intolerance: and it must be confessed, if this be an exaggerated account of the Spanish historians, that the conquerors of South America are even worse than Turks, inasmuch as they boast of having occasioned more evil and committed more direful ravages than they actually did commit; a thing unknown to these eastern fanatics, who lay waste with fire and sword, but never vaunt of being more cruel than necessity warrants, by increasing the amount of the slaughtered victims belonging to the nations which they have subjugated. Without, however, entering into a minute calculation of the massacres committed by the Spaniards in that part of America, it cannot be denied that they were the original spoliators of the country, and the destroyers of the many cities which existed prior to the conquest. To prove this, it will be sufficient to quote the description given by Don Francisco de Fuentes, the historian of the kingdom of Guatemala, of the city of Utatlan, in former times the residence of the King of Quiché, and by far the most splendid which the Spaniards met with in that country.

Don Francisco de Fuentes took up his abode expressly in Quiché, anxious to investigate its alleged antiquity by an accurate survey of the ruins or manuscripts which his assiduity might discover. According to his narrative, that capital was built nearly on the site of the present city of Santa Cruz del Quiché, which leaves room to conjecture that the latter might have been a suburb to the former. It was surrounded by a precipice, which served it as a fosse, and left no access to the city but by two very narrow entrances, defended by the castle of Resguardo; in this situation it was considered impregnable. In the centre of the capital was

the royal palace, inclosed by the houses of the nobility, it being the usage for the plebeians to reside at the extremities of the city. Its streets were extremely narrow, and the place was so populous that the king collected from it alone seventy-two thousand soldiers, to dispute the entrance of the Spaniards. It was a most wealthy capital, and adorned with numerous sumptuous edifices, the most celebrated of which was the seminary, where five or six thousand young men were fed, clothed, and instructed, at the expense of the royal treasury, and where sixty directors and preceptors were employed in the various labours of education. Besides the extensive castles of Atalaga and Resguardo, which were both capable of containing a vast number of defenders, the grand alcazar, or palace of the King of Quiché, was immense and beautiful in the extreme; and, according to Torquemada, its opulence competed with the palace of Montezuma in Mexico, and that of the Incas in Cuzco. Its front from east to west measured three hundred and seventy-six geometrical paces, and its sides seven hundred and twenty-eight. It was built of divers-coloured stones, was elegant and magnificent in its proportions, and was divided into seven departments. The first served as quarters for a numerous band of spearmen, archers, and other expert soldiers, whose duty it was to guard the royal person. The second was destined for the habitation of the princes and relatives of the king, who during celibacy were treated with royal magnificence. The third was the abode of the king himself, wherein were apartments set apart for morning, after dinner, and evening. In one of these chambers, under four canopies of feathers, stood the splendid regal throne, the ascent to which was by a grand flight of steps. In this part of the palace were the royal treasury, the tribunal of the judges of the people, the armoury, the gardens, the cages of the birds and wild beasts, and a great variety of offices. The fourth and fifth departments were amazingly extensive, and occupied by the palace of the queens and concubines of the king. It contained an assemblage of suites of apartments requisite for the accommodation of thirty females, who were treated as queens,

and was provided with gardens, orchards, baths, and places for the birds that furnished the feathers in use among the natives of the country. Contiguous to the last was the sixth department, which was the college of the young ladies, where the princesses of the blood royal were educated.

To those who are of opinion that the natives of America derive their origin from Asiatics, the description of that immense capital might furnish evidence conclusive in support of their doctrine; inasmuch as, without taking into account the idolatrous worship, the analogy of colour and form, and the pusillanimity common to both these people, it might rationally be inferred from the use of harems, from the plurality of wives, from the baths, from the narrowness of the streets, and from various other circumstances, that the two nations are descendants of one family.

Before the conquest, many large cities of nearly equal note existed in the kingdom of Quiché, and in the other Indian countries; such as Xelahu, Chemequena, Patinamit, the famous city of Atitlan, and the fortress of Mizco; but, as has been already observed in the preceding article, nothing now remains of these spacious places but distant records, or a few uncertain traces.

In return for so much destruction, the Spaniards founded here and there, and not unfrequently on the ruins of the ancient, some new cities, which deserve no particular notice either for the beauty of their construction or the magnitude of their population. The magnificent and grand was found by the Spaniards; and, like the Turks, they have substituted on its wreck meanness and deformity! The greater part of the cities founded by the Castilians are dedicated to a saint; but, notwithstanding the patronage of these celestial patrons, their inhabitants remain invariably in a state of poverty and ignorance.

From this list, however, we must except the city of Guatemala; which, not only on account of its structure, but from the circum-

stance of its being the capital of the new republic, deserves particularly to be mentioned.

Guatemala is the fourth city which has borne the name. The first was that Guatemala which was the residence of the kings of the Rachiqueles, and which has so entirely disappeared that the Spanish historians are still at issue as to the spot where it existed. The second was founded by the Adelantado Alvarado, in 1524, between two volcanoes, as a temporary establishment, until he could select a more appropriate situation; but finding none such, the inhabitants resolved to remain stationary, approaching somewhat nearer to the east, at the bottom of the volcano called Volcan de Agua, a most fertile and pleasant site, the temperature of which is rather cold, with a wholesome atmosphere, and a soil well supplied with cool and salubrious waters. In that situation the conqueror Alvarado founded the city, on the 22d of November, 1527: and very soon afterwards it was peopled by that cloud of locusts which then followed the Spanish army, in other words, by the Dominican, Franciscan, and La Merced Friars, the hermits of our Lady, the begging hermits, those of the True Cross, and by all the rest of their innumerable family. The city, however, at first increased but slowly, having been inundated and desolated, on the night of the 11th September, 1541, by a tremendous torrent of water which issued from the volcano, destroying with its flood, trees, houses, and inhabitants; by reason of which disaster that city (called Ciudad Viaja) was rebuilt on the supposed site of the old Guatemala, (Antigua Guatemala.)

This third city of Guatemala was founded in a pleasant valley, encompassed by woods and ever-verdant hills, enjoying a moderate temperature, and blest, as it were, with a perpetual spring. In the cathedral of this Guatemala were buried the mortal remains of the Adelantado Alvarado. This city was also peopled by Dominican, Franciscan, and La Merced Friars, as well as by Jesuits. It contained ten monasteries of regulars, and five convents of nuns, who, as the author of the *Monacology* justly

observes, are rarely found far apart, being like plants among which the male and female of each species are always seen in contiguity. There was likewise a convent of the order of La Concepcion, of such vast extent, that nuns, novices, and servants, to the amount of more than a thousand, are said to have inhabited it : but notwithstanding the presence of so many seraphic inhabitants, the city was unfortunately shaken by frequent earthquakes, from the visitation of which it was doomed several times to be destroyed. At last, the place having again been partly laid waste by the earthquake of 1773, the inhabitants tired of ruin and of so often rebuilding their domiciles, resolved to remove to a spot further distant from the volcano and the misfortunes it occasioned, making choice for that purpose of the valley of Mixco, where in 1776 the new Guatemala was erected.

New Guatemala, the capital of the republic, is built in a spacious plain, five leagues in diameter, watered and fertilized by various rivulets and considerable lakes, under a smiling sky, and enjoying a benignant climate ; so much so, that throughout the year woollen or silk stuffs may be worn indiscriminately. The streets of the city are straight, tolerably long, and in general paved. The houses, though built low, for fear of earthquakes, are nevertheless commodious, pretty in appearance, and have gardens and orchards attached to them. The principal plaza is a large square, of which each side measures an hundred and fifty yards, well paved, with porticoes all around. In front of it is the cathedral, built by an Italian artist, in a correct and magnificent style of architecture. On one side of the cathedral is the archiepiscopal palace, and on the other one of the seminaries. In front of the cathedral is erected the palace of government, near which stands the palace of justice, and in the middle of the square plays a fountain, slightly carved. The churches of Guatemala are all handsomely and elegantly constructed ; and attention is particularly arrested by a beautiful amphitheatre of stone, destined for the barbarous amusement of bull-baiting ; and in this building, by way of refinement in cruelty, combats between jaguars and bulls

have sometimes been exhibited. There is a well-built university, where law, theology, medicine, mathematics, and natural history, are taught; to which are attached a small library, and an anatomical museum, with several curious preparations in wax. The city possesses, besides, an academy for the fine arts, an elegantly-constructed mint, very deficient, however, in the machinery employed in European establishments of the same kind. To remedy this deficiency, the government has lately commissioned an individual, at present in London, to purchase one of Bolton's machines. This mint has always been in active employment; and from it was issued, in 1824, the recent gold and silver coin, stamped with the newly-devised armorial bearings adopted by the republic; exhibiting on one side a tree, with the motto "*Libra cresca y secundo*," and on the other a rising sun enlightening five mountains, emblematical of the five federal states.

According to the census, instituted by order of Senor del Valle, while he was president of the republic, the population of Guatemala exceeds forty thousand souls.

The city is nine Spanish leagues distant from the ancient Guatemala; ninety leagues from the sea on the north, twenty-six from the Pacific ocean, and four hundred from the city of Mexico.

The federal congress and the senate are the most valuable establishments of this capital, and cannot fail to render it flourishing and celebrated in time to come. These two bodies, conjointly exercising the legislative power, assemble in two distinct halls, founded on the site of the old university. In the first national assembly more than eighty deputies took their seats. At the present time the federal congress reckons but forty-six representatives, and the senate is composed of ten members. The senate house has been lately adorned in a simple and dignified style. The hall of congress is in no way remarkable, and its walls are covered with velvet and damask. It has a gallery for the public; and behind the president's chair is a kind of balcony, where ladies may be present at the debates. It is an incontrovertible fact that eloquence is rare in all assemblies where the members

are few in number. As writers are warmed into enthusiasm by possessing in imagination an uncontrollable dominion over the judgment and applause of posterity: in like manner, the presence of a numerous auditory excites the passions, and gives a zest to the imaginative powers of the orator. The limited number of deputies in the federal congress of Guatemala, curtailing the space for the expansion of the majestical and far-extending wings of eloquence, may therefore be assigned as the true cause of the languid state of the present oratory of the country. Last June, however, a sitting was held in the hall of congress, not less important from the nature of the discussions which took place, than on account of the animated speeches delivered on the occasion; and, the subject being interesting to humanity collectively, it may not perhaps be amiss to give a detailed account of the proceedings.

One of the first acts of the constituent assembly of Guatemala was the abolition of slavery, which disgrace of civilized ages was annihilated by a decree of the 17th of April, 1824. Nevertheless, the law wisely settled a rate of indemnity for the owners of slaves. Senor del Valle, ever foremost in the paths of patriotism and humanity, was very urgent in recommending such a compensation, and his example was followed by the greater part of the proprietors. The number of slaves at that time in the republic did not exceed five hundred. The epoch of that decree was observed by the government as a season of festivity and jubilee; and the legislative power, rejoicing in the benefit done to humanity, declared in its message, that the decree of the assembly deserved to be registered on tablets of brass, in the hall of the assembly, as one of its greatest ornaments.

In process of time the constitution was promulgated by the national assembly, and confirmed the abolition of slavery by the thirteenth article, worded as follows:—

“Every man in the republic is free; and no one who takes refuge under its laws can be a slave, nor shall any one be accounted a citizen who carries on the slave trade.”

By means of this article the republic was placed by the constitution on a footing with the temples of the ancients, which served as an asylum to the unfortunate. In consequence, during last spring, one hundred slaves, belonging to the English settlers at Belize, fled from the colony, and sought refuge in the republic. The superintendent of the establishment demanded the restitution of the fugitives. The executive, in the message with which it forwarded the demand to the legislative power, gave its opinion in favour of the required restitution: influenced, no doubt, by an apprehension that the British government would not tamely permit a refusal to be given, which would so materially tend to alarm its subjects, proprietors of slaves in the West Indies, where slavery is still tolerated. The public of Guatemala, on that account, were anxious to know the resolve of the legislative power upon so delicate an affair. The 6th of June was fixed for the debate, and the hall of congress was crowded to excess. Attention and anxiety were visible on every face; and so intensely were the feelings acted on, that the eyelids seemed to cease from their involuntary motion during the period of suspense. The deputy, Alvarado, opened the debate.

Éra este noble mozo de alto hecho,
Varón de autoridad, grave, y aevero,
Amigo de guardar todo derecho,
Aspero, riguroso, y Justiciero,
De cuerpo grande y relevado pecho.

These verses, with which Ercilla portrays Caupolicon in the Araucana, convey a correct idea of Alvarado. On that occasion he brought the constitution to the view of the congress; and thus addressing it. §

"This is the sacred Ægis, under cover of which the slaves of Belize have taken refuge; and I call on you to recollect that you have sworn to maintain it inviolate. Shall we break that oath so shortly after having pronounced it? What are commercial interests, when put in competition with the paramount duty of

preserving justice ? They should weigh as a feather in the balance ! England, it is true, protects the interests of her traders ; but is she not bound still more to prefer and protect the sanctity of oaths ?”

The whole harangue of the orator, besides being animated by the glowing sentiments of a generous heart, was interwoven with brilliant sentences of manly logic, and obtained from the auditory, whose emotions sympathized with the words he uttered, reiterated expressions of approbation. After him arose an opponent, who, with all the powers of oratory, exerted himself to prove the propriety of the restitution, and, by quotations from ancient and modern history, to show that the principles of justice, which ought to regulate the conduct of individuals, cannot be always made applicable to a state. Many other deputies followed on the same false side of the argument : but Sener Alvarado was not disheartened ; and returning to the charge, adduced fresh arguments in reply ; declaring in conclusion, that if the English government should insist on recovering possession of the slaves by force, he would prefer to fall a victim to violence rather than become an accomplice to injustice. These last words, pronounced loudly and with impassioned emphasis, by an orator whose countenance was invariably clothed with an air of sadness, again drew down the plaudits of his hearers, whose hearts were without exception in unison with justice. Notwithstanding, however, the manly resistance of Senor Alvarado, the discussion was eventually decided by a majority in favour of the contrary opinion ; and in consequence the congress ordered the restitution of the slaves—a decision which fortunately was subject to the revision of the senate. That second legislative chamber, therefore resumed the discussion, and pronounced an opposite decision, declaring the slaves to be free ; but at the same time uniting the rights of liberty with the claims of property, it determined to award a just compensation to the English owners of the slaves. Does not the revision of the preceding decision prove, in an incontrovertible manner, the necessity of a second chamber to pre-

serve the equilibrium of the legislative power? The senators who most distinguished themselves in the discussion in favour of these slaves, were the Senors Barrundia, Alvarado, Alcayagua, and Mendez.

Wars, revolutions, and political catastrophes, invariably bring forth great characters. Guatemala, which has experienced none of these violent political convulsions, cannot present us with a series of illustrious warriors, or of extraordinary men. Nevertheless this republic, even in the course of ordinary events, has produced enlightened and zealous patriots, who might well be placed in rivalry with many illustrious characters who have done honour to their country. Senor Barrundia, at present a member of the senate, is a native of the state of Guatemala. Previous to the declaration of independence, he was a naval officer, and suffered much in the cause of liberty. Always poor, yet ever honourable, he often displayed his disinterested disposition by refusing many employments which were pressed on his acceptance. Public opinion and esteem pointed him out for the situation of President of the committee charged with arranging the outlines of the constitution; and to his assiduity the public is indebted for a great portion of that labour. He is about thirty-two years of age, fair, with a fine aspect and interesting physiognomy. He speaks with eloquence, notwithstanding a certain degree of difficulty in his delivery—a defect which is amply compensated by a sonorous enunciation and dignified gesticulation. He is considered by all parties as a man of unimpeachable integrity.

Father Alcayagua, formerly a member of the constituent assembly, is one of the senators. This priest, rector of the village Duenas, was also a member of the committee for preparing the constitution, and took a distinguished part in its formation. He possesses an amiable disposition; and his countenance, which age has now rendered venerable, is distinguished by strong traces of amenity. Highly gifted with intelligence, he is decidedly liberal. But though his conduct is irreproachable, when he sat

In the constituent assembly he was denounced as a heretic. Such unfounded calumny is unfortunately not without precedent. During the reign of ignorance, learning among an unenlightened people was always a motive for founding accusations of heresy and sorcery.

The senator Alvarado, brother of the deputy, is another clergyman of spotless character and severe principles. His stately and imposing figure, his inflexibility in doing what is just and upright, and his intrepid patriotism, make him more worthy to immortalize the name than the conqueror Alvarado, from whom he is descended.

Don Francisco Sosa, an ardent patriot in the commencement of independence, is the present minister of justice and public worship in the interior. He is thirty years old, highly educated, with fine manners and a graceful mien; and was a deputy in the national assembly, and a member of the committee for preparing the constitution.

Don Jose del Valle deserves to rank foremost among his countrymen. Every thing combines in this patriot to gain him the esteem of his fellow-citizens and the respect of foreigners. Thoroughly versed in all the sciences, he speaks and writes with admirable eloquence and facility. Following in the steps of Franklin, he began his career by editing a journal, entitled "*El Amigo de la Patria*," for the purpose of instructing his countrymen, and of elevating their minds for the reception of independence. Nominated in 1822 to serve as a deputy in the congress of Mexico, he omitted no opportunity to speak aloud for the independence of his country. In October, 1822, he was, with several other deputies, arrested by the usurper Iturbide; and, by one of the singular caprices of fortune which are usually concomitant with despotism, was liberated from incarceration by the tyrant who had imprisoned him, to be invested with the portfolio of minister of the interior and of foreign affairs. On the overthrow of the despot, he strenuously exerted all his influence to obtain the

independence of Guatemala; and his countrymen rewarded his patriotism by appointing him president of the republic, which office he filled till last April. He was subsequently elected vice-president, which situation he declined accepting, as he conceived himself to have been fraudulently deprived of the presidentship, to which he had been re-elected by a majority. His fortune is considerable. He is of high stature, in the prime of life, and ardent in his wishes to procure the felicity of his country. His courtesy to foreigners is the theme of admiration; in short, he is one of those men who, by their virtue and talents, suffice to give fame and splendour to a nation. |

It is now time to redeem the promise we gave in our article in the preceding number, and to shew what the government of the new republic has already done for the public good, and what it still intends to do.

We will begin with Public Instruction. On this point every credit is due to the wisdom of the government, which, from the first moment, invariably acted on the principle, that the instruction of the people constitutes the true foundation of virtue and liberty. The local authorities were directed to present the list of the schools existing in each province, and to propose the means best fitted to augment similar seminaries. In the city of Guatemala are ten schools for reading and writing, in which nearly seven hundred young men are educated. The government, anxious to establish the system of mutual instruction, directed its minister at the United States to procure a professor capable of transplanting and diffusing that plan in the republic, while it disseminated throughout the provinces a pamphlet printed in Mexico, in which the new method was explained; and a committee was selected to translate the projects of Fourcroy, Condorcet, and Talleyrand, on the subject of public instruction.

A chair of mathematics, of botany and agriculture, and another of architecture, were endowed in the university: and in order to propagate the knowledge of agriculture and botany, so essential in a country highly favoured by nature, and so shamefully neglected

by man, young persons were brought from all the provinces to be instructed in those sciences. As a proof of the laudable impartiality of the government, it is worthy of remark, that six black young men of Omoa and Truxillo are educated at its expense.

The cultivation of cochineal in the different provinces is greatly encouraged by the ruling powers; and, by their direction, pamphlets have been circulated, disclosing the most approved methods of cultivating that valuable production, as well as printed essays on the rearing of cocoa and indigo. The latter article, which in former years had fallen in value, rose in 1824 to a price unexampled for many years. The plantations of cochineal recently cultivated in the republic make great progress, and in a short time this production will be one of the principal sources of national wealth.

Mines.

In this part of America, nature has been prodigal in mines containing an abundance of wealth. Besides the mine of Alotepeque, which we have already described, another, called Del Corpus, lies in the territory of the republic, from which branch many veins were actively worked till 1810, and only then abandoned by reason of a want of money and machinery sufficient to drain off the water which had inundated them. The riches of these mines must have been considerable;—in proof of which position, it is merely necessary to state, that during a period of six years, they produced eight millions of dollars. In the vicinity of these subterraneous works, five thousand Indians were resident, who for two reals a day were employed in the excavations; considerable forests were also at hand, and a river at the distance of two leagues. The mine of San Martin, when in a state of labour, was one of the richest; nor were those of San Antonia and Santa Lucia much inferior in value. In the state of San Salvador was situated the mine of Tapanco, also very rich. The vast extraction of metal from these mines in times past, and their

position in the same ridge of mountains, in the bosom of which are situated the mines of Peru, Potosi, and Mexico, induce a belief that their wealth is not much inferior to that of those celebrated veins of ore. Many of these, it is true, have not yielded a comparatively equal produce, having uniformly been abandoned, at a certain point, in consequence of the scarcity of scientific mineralogists and expert miners—a drawback which has never ceased to exist throughout the kingdom of Guatemala. This deficiency in so requisite a science may be attributed to the want of a good school of mineralogy in the country—an advantage which, even under the Spanish sway, was only enjoyed by Mexico; on which account its mines were always better stocked with machines and experienced workmen. The new government of the republic, aware of this obstacle, and anxious to invigorate and protect so important a source of wealth, began, among the first acts of its administration, to put into effect every possible method for the improvement and prosperity of the mines. It caused printed instructions to be distributed among the miners, and circulated an essay on the separation of metals, bringing at the same time a professor of mineralogy from Mexico, and urging the agents of two English commercial houses, to establish a company for the purpose of undertaking the proper working of the mines.

Roads and Canals.

Whoever has travelled in Spain need not be told that the government there is no promoter of the facility of communication between place and place. Can it therefore be a matter of wonder, that the court of Madrid, which allowed the parent monarchy to continue destitute of roads and canals, should never have turned its attention to opening and facilitating the means of communication between colony and colony? The republic from this neglect of its former rulers, found itself imperiously called on to commence the labour of making communications between the provinces within its jurisdiction; a work which Spain had long

neglected to commence, and in all probability never would have undertaken. The principal road, and the one most frequented, is that from Omoa to the capital. The chamber of commerce of Guatemala, in one of its reports, declared that the merchandize which arrived at Omoa from Europe, could not, in many instances, be transported to the seat of government in less than eight months, although the distance is no more than ninety leagues, partly by water and partly by land. In consequence of this representation, the attention of the government was directed to the facilitating a communication between these places; for which object it has already commenced the founding of the post of Isabel, and other small establishments, along that line of road.

It is also the intention of the government to permit a company to undertake the formation of a canal, which, by means of the lake of Nicaragua, will unite the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Several North American and London commercial houses have applied for permission to carry on the enterprize, some of them having actually amassed considerable funds, and sent engineers to examine the spot: and from the calculations made by late travelers and experimental workmen, under the guidance of the scientific knowledge of this improved age, there is little doubt that the undertaking, by adopting the proper mode, will be found perfectly practicable.

The Army.

The republic of Guatemala, by not organizing a well-appointed and disciplined army to guard against the attacks of Spanish despotism, has been guilty of the error committed by all the people who in this country have struggled to regain the blessing of liberty. By the avowal of the minister Zebadua himself, the army of the republic is in a very dilapidated state; badly clothed, armed, paid, and disciplined. Muskets are much wanted, and the fortresses require a thorough repair to put them in a state of defence. The harbours are unprotected by batteries; and bar-

racks are so much wanted for the soldiery, that, with the exception of one newly erected in Guatemala for the cavalry, there may be said to be none in the republic. This report of the minister of war, it is thought, will induce the government to expend a part of the loan contracted for last year, in providing for the defence of the state. In the mean time, a school for officers and a military college have been endowed. The Spanish government was very careful not to communicate to the Americans any military knowledge. Passive obedience was their duty, and to command was the prerogative of the Spaniards. The chiefs of corps, the subaltern officers, and even the sergeants, were sent from Spain; and in consequence of this system of mistrust, under the Spanish sway, the foundation of a military college in Guatemala was not permitted.

Finances.

Under the Spaniards, the revenue of the kingdom of Guatemala amounted to a million of dollars; but peculation was carried to such an extent, that the court of Madrid received little or no benefit from that sum. Amidst convulsions and changes of government, financial concerns always undergo an unfavourable mutation; nor could Guatemala, in its unsettled position, be expected to stand forward as an exception to this rule. Order and economy are now beginning to be re-established, and the revenue of the government will ere long keep pace with the progress and increase of the national wealth. In order to make the present institutions more palatable to the people, recourse was had to the hasty and imprudent plan of abolishing some of the taxes which filled the public treasury. The contributions which the natives paid, under the name of tribute, have been taken off, and likewise the tax on playing cards, and snow, not to mention the duties derived from bulls, the fifth of gold and silver, the half of the secular annats, the two per cent. on tobacco, and various other imposts which have been diminished or expunged.

By reason of these reductions, the public treasury became so empty, that the government was constrained to contract in London for a loan of seven millions and a half of dollars, by the assistance of which sum it will gain time to re-establish by gradual process some branches of the public revenue, and be enabled to undertake at the same time many works advantageous to the state.

The revenue destined for the general expenses of the republic has for some time past been derived solely from imposts on powder, postage, tobacco, and clearances from the maritime custom-house. We cannot say whether the produce of these four objects of taxation are sufficient to maintain the general expenses of the republic, which, according to Senor del Valle, rarely exceed 500,000 dollars. But should there be a slight deficiency in the revenue to meet the expenditure, this will be but a momentary evil, inasmuch as the government, besides daily adopting economical experiments, is proceeding slowly with the augmentation of the taxes, in quotas which will fall but lightly on the people, and be a mere nothing when compared with the sums which were exacted from them in times past. The fact is, that the inhabitants of Guatemala pay less taxes than any other people of the present day in Europe or America. Senor del Valle having compared the contributions of Mexico with those of Guatemala, proves that in Mexico each person pays eleven reals, and in his country but two and a half.

Colonization.

The 12th article of the constitution declares that "the republic is a sacred asylum for every foreigner, and the country of any one who desires to inhabit its territory." The government, aware of the necessity of inviting foreign industry to establish itself in the republic, by a decree of the 12th January, 1824, (which on account of its length we cannot now extract,) offered the most liberal advantages to foreigners who colonized there. Land is easily obtained, and its possession is accompanied with exemption

from taxes for twenty years, and the right of citizenship after three ; besides which, the most careful protection is given to every foreign agriculturalist.

This, then, is the position which the Guatemalan nation presents to the eyes of the world : agitated no more by revolutions and destructive changes, it advances in a steady manner towards wealth and civilization. "The government of Guatemala," to use the words of Senor del Valle, "has never for an instant lost sight of the welfare of the nation ; an object which it has forwarded with foresight, and without dangerous precipitancy. A laborious peasant may now recal his toils, and look on the profits derived from them with pleasure. The benevolent exertions of a zealous government in behalf of its citizens, are satisfactory to the governors and the governed. I have laboured strenuously for the public last year, and shall labour still more in the present. A tear less, an ear of corn more, or a shoot from a plant not cultivated before my administration, will place me at the summit of felicity."

At this moment the grand congress of all the new American republics is assembling at Panama ; whence will undoubtedly be diffused an electric fire, which will impart new impulses to the infant states, and tend to quicken their prosperity. What a powerful influence may not that free and confederate continent, in a century to come, exercise over Europe !

TRADE AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

It is now twelve months since the recognition by Great Britain of the Southern American States; and whether we look at that act of policy by the king's ministers in a political or commercial point of view, we can find abundant reasons for designating it as one of the soundest courses of conduct that any European cabinet ever pursued; a policy, that whilst it held out the right hand of fellowship to patriots who had rendered their names immortal in the page of history, in the determined and vigorous struggles they had made for the independence of their native land; at the same time consolidated the strength, increased the resources, and added to the power of the great nation, over which Mr. Canning and his colleagues ruled. The present foreign minister is a philosopher as well as a statesman, and if his views in the latter capacity had not opened to him the advantages of the present intercourse with South America, his attainments and knowledge as an intellectual being of the first class, must have convinced him of the necessity of the course that, as a British minister, he had felt it his duty to recommend to his sovereign. The march of information and the progress of the human mind cannot be restrained beyond a certain point by tyrants, however powerful, or by leagues, however ancient; and the most casual observer who has paid any attention to the passing events of the last year particularly, must be

convinced that the recently recognized states will force themselves upon the attention of Europe, as governments whose commercial greatness and political power cannot be checked by all the efforts of continental legitimacy. When the present cabinet was formed, that is, when Mr. Canning came into office upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, the foreign policy of this country was at a very low ebb; in a condition indeed, that we have no hesitation in saying, had brought a crying disgrace upon her, and was fast withering all the laurels that her forces both by sea and land had gained for her, during the arduous struggle in which she had been engaged for nearly a quarter of a century. Lord Londonderry, a mere creature of expedients, who never could take a comprehensive view of any subject, very soon after the peace, became entangled in the trammels of the Holy Alliance, and finally, became so enamoured of conferences and soirées, at which he was jostling amongst emperors, kings, and princes, that he began to act as if the best interests of his country were involved in closely pursuing the direction marked out by continental statesmen and their masters. Even, however, this crooked policy of the late foreign minister was only engrafted on an old vicious course that had been long steadily followed under Mr. Pitt and his predecessors, and which it is necessary now to look back upon, in order to come to a full and fair consideration of the present state of the commerce of the world, in which South America must so largely partake, and in which she is now so deeply interested. In taking a sound view of commercial relations at this moment, it is impossible to omit noticing the political events of at least the last twenty-

five years; for out of them, in a great degree, has arisen the hydra-headed monster, commercial restriction, that Mr. Huskisson, and the other members of the cabinet more immediately connected with finance and trade, and with whom Mr. Canning zealously co-operates, are endeavouring to beat down. It is necessary, we say, to go back to this period, because the efforts that are now making to break up a system that has grown with the growth of English policy, during the revolutionary war more especially, has probably increased a convulsion in commercial affairs, that has alarmed the timid, and to a certain extent, shaken the confidence of all. Mr. Pitt, with all his capacity of mind and extent of information, was decidedly an alarmist, and that, by a natural consequence, made him pursue a system of expedients. The same motives that induced him every session of parliament to increase the power of the crown, or as he himself expressed it, to strengthen the hands of the government, used to lead him to barricade British commerce by the most vexatious imposts, as indeed must every duty be which offers an impediment to that which from its nature ought to be free as air. The extraordinary man who reigned so many years over the French nation, caused the prohibitory system to be more zealously acted upon than ever; and his famous decrees of 1810 gave ample proof that his hostility towards Great Britain induced him to take a step that was much more destructive to the commerce of the people over whom he reigned than to that of his enemies. However, this act of inveterate hostility on the part of the French emperor again strengthened the restrictive policy, which was never relaxed until the accession of Mr. Canning and

Mr. Huskisson to power. We are aware that the question of restrictions in commerce, is one upon which there are among the bulk of the community two opinions; we are also aware that it is, as far as regards England, a theoretical question, but at the same time, one whose theories are, in our judgment, so sound, that they may be most safely turned into practice. At this moment, the great proportion of the commerce of the world turns upon this question, and therefore, any article upon the mercantile affairs of nations that did not largely view it; must of necessity be meagre and unprofitable. Probably, no period of former history ever opened so wide a field for reflection, as regards commerce, as the present; and South America is so intimately connected with the operations of trade that are now going on, that if this, our publication, were not especially the organ of the new states in this country, both in politics and commerce, developing, as we have, and as we intend to continue to do, to the British community the resources of that interesting and most important portion of the world, and the views of its governments; we should consider it equally essential in a commercial discussion, to give it a prominent station; for we regard it as the chief hinge upon which mercantile affairs turn at the time we are writing. No one can imagine that the ministers of England, more immediately mixed up with matters of trade and finance, could have been inattentive observers of the elaborate efforts (if we may be allowed the term) of the South American patriots, long before diplomatic forms or any step towards settled commercial relations took place between these states and England. These statesmen, no doubt, perceived

that an opportunity was offering itself to them of getting rid of the unsound old course of restrictions, that they must not suffer to pass ; and it is worthy of remark, that the early measures of the British cabinet respecting the opening of trade, ran parallel with their intentions as to the new states. They no doubt foresaw that they had an area open to them there, for the reception of their liberal commercial principles, should they not succeed to the full extent of their wishes in Europe ; and that the powerful co-operation of the recently recognized governments, would give an impetus to the system that must, we think, ultimately overcome the bigotry of continental politicians ; and therefore, these independencies are not only *per se* of the highest value to the commerce of the world, supposing it to proceed in its old course of prohibition, but they are collaterally working most powerfully towards the destruction of a system, that oppresses, as a night-mare does the human frame, all mercantile relations. We shall now shortly, at least as shortly as the subject will admit of, advert to the reasons that the opponents of liberal principles put forth, and then endeavour to show that the causes that have led to the late remarkable convulsion in the money market and in the commercial world, were likely to produce the effects that have been felt more or less by every one connected with trade, and which, in our judgment, should England continue at peace, will be succeeded by a flow of prosperity that she never before experienced, and of which her new and much-valued allies will most largely partake.—The supporters of the prohibitory course principally argue it as a question of time, and as one from which a reciprocity of advantage cannot

emanate; inasmuch as the continental nation to which the new system will more particularly apply, and which will alone, as they contend, reap the advantage of it, will offer nothing in return. She will be ready to receive all the benefits that can accrue to her from the experiment, but she will close her hands when any boon is asked of her as a set-off for the sacrifices that England, and those states inclined to act in concert with England in this course of liberal policy, have made for the common good of commercial intercourse and mercantile enterprise.—That Great Britain, as in the case of the silk trade, is causing hundreds of thousands of her operative manufacturers to be put out of employment, and consequently out of bread; for it is impossible with the load of debt which is at present pressing upon English manufacturers—with its concomitant heavy taxes, and high prices of the necessities of life, that they (the manufacturers) can compete with those of the continent who are eating cheap provisions, and living under governments burdened with only small debts and light taxes. These, we admit, are very plausible arguments; but still, we cannot bring our mind to any other conclusion, than that they are full of sophistry. We wish to speak upon this, as indeed we would upon all the oretical subjects with becoming diffidence; but upon this we would the more especially treat with caution, because the happiness probably of half a million of human beings in one branch of manufacture alone (that of silk) is mixed up with it; and because it opens to the mind a most extensive range for reflection, and forces upon it, almost beyond comparison, more than any other subject, the consideration, that if the theory be unsound, the loss would be irretrievable to

those nations that have embraced the liberal doctrines. By this, of course we mean, should that theory be defective, that contemplates advantages in the event of restrictions being as strictly continued as formerly by some nations, when an opposite system is pursued by others; because we take it for granted that no one is hardy enough to deny the benefits of this latter system, if it were simultaneously acted upon by the nations of the world. The question of time urged on the other side, we shall dismiss very shortly, because we believe that it would be difficult for any minister to fix upon the proper period, in the opinion of those who are reaping advantage from them, for the removal of imposts that support a monopoly. But one word more, and only one upon this point; which is for the purpose of asking, whether Mr. Huskisson, supposing his principles safe, could have found a more auspicious time for the commencement of the application of them than when he first introduced his enactments relative to the navigation laws. Those measures must be considered as the foundation of his free trade system, and they were produced when the capital of Great Britain, to a certain extent, was unemployed. The riders (to use a parliamentary phrase) to those measures, viz. the bills for throwing open the silk trade, &c. were introduced in a succeeding session, when the balance of capital, as compared with trade, was still larger. In referring to this period, we cannot see how Mr. Huskisson can be fairly charged with improvidently hurrying these measures against commercial prohibitions; for if they were to be attacked, we know not how a finer opportunity, for the reason we have before stated, strengthened as it was by the

apparent stability of the peace of Europe, could be found for the attempt; for the recent convulsion in the money market, which is now causing such extensive commercial embarrassments, in whatever degree it may affect them, we maintain is quite beside the question as to Mr. Huskisson having chosen an opportune period for the commencement of his operations. The other principal point urged by the prohibitory advocates is, that the advantage will not be reciprocal. In discussing this part of their objection, we must ask, is it necessary that reciprocity should be as perfect as they contend for? The load of public debt existing in England, and the heavy weight of taxation, are to our minds leading causes for making the attempt, inasmuch as we believe, that when it becomes matured into a system, it will, with the powerful aid of South American commerce, increase the resources and add to the wealth of the country that proposes to introduce it, and to every other that acts upon it, even if it should not become general for a time; for we are sanguine enough to believe, that if it be persisted in by the Americans, England, and the Netherlands, whose government seems inclined to tread closely in the steps of England, that other powers will be forced into it from motives of policy. The great point is to have nerve enough to carry it through; for we are prepared to expect, that as the system proceeds, the outcry against it by those whom it affects, will be loud and extensive. This article has grown longer than we intended when we began, although comparatively short as to the variety of topics that it embraces, and therefore, for the present we shall content ourselves with observing upon the next head of objections to the

liberal system of commerce, viz. that other countries will not offer a reciprocity of advantage to those which embrace it; that if Great Britain cannot compete with France, in the manufacture of silk goods, and she is obliged to remit to the latter country gold for the silks she sends here, in consequence of the duties being repealed, that gold would return, if not from France, from other countries that she is trading with, as remittances on account of orders for goods, woollen and cotton, for instance, in the manufacture of which, this nation can compete with her neighbour; and therefore, in the most unfavourable point of view, we think that those communities acting upon the principles of free trade, cannot eventually be losers; for the fact is, states have their qualifications as well as persons, and the production of certain manufactures appears almost indigenous, to particular soils; and in our judgment, instead of bolstering up the sale of particular fabrics, by prohibitory regulations, it appears a much wiser course to call into action the energy and ingenuity of those engaged in them; and where a particular branch fails, let the operatives connected with it turn their attention to others in which the countries acting upon liberal principles excel; and we are satisfied if this course be boldly followed, the commerce of the world will find its level, and its increase will be commensurate with the extent of the operation of the system. Many persons shrink back with horror at the idea of being dependant upon Poland and Prussia for corn; but we ask, what is there so alarming in it? If the land of England can be more usefully employed in growing wool, tallow, hides, and the stock that produces these articles, what harm is there in receiving

corn from Poland and Prussia to make up the quantity required for the consumption of this or any other country; for it is as necessary to the exporters to send, as it is to the importers to receive; and upon the same principle, why should not hands that have been engaged at working in a propped up manufacture, be with advantage turned over to one where you have no dangerous competitor, and which would increase, as we believe would be the case, by giving energy to that manufacture of your neighbour in which he surpasses you. At present, our honest conviction is, that after the first impression against free trade has passed away, such a stimulus will be given by it to the commerce of the world, even in its early operations, that nations will see their gain in becoming partakers of it in its fullest extent; for they will perceive, that before they can reap a complete advantage from it, they must be givers as well as receivers.

Our limits will not permit us to take that extended review of the last head of our strictures that we had designed, respecting the embarrassments in commercial affairs, and the prosperity that appears to us likely to succeed them; and as it is a question so closely interwoven with the commercial and financial transactions that have occurred between South America and Great Britain, and as it is of paramount importance that it should be carefully treated, we shall not, by endeavouring to discuss it concisely, garble our observations, but reserve them for our next Number. We shall also reserve our remarks relative to the Brazilian treaty, until a future publication; because the document is not yet entirely settled, and therefore a discussion of it now, would be premature; but thus much regarding it

we may be allowed to say, that as far as we can at present judge, it seems to hold out advantages to each of the contracting parties, without going further into it. The acknowledgment of the independence of the highly important empire of Brazil, is an occurrence of the deepest interest in every point of view.

In the further progress of this work, we shall enter into various details connected with all the recently recognized states, and take a separate review of the resources (in the most extended application of the word) of each, so that the immense advantages to the world at large, of their becoming free governments, may be made apparent, by a digested description of all their capabilities, as independent nations, for political and commercial intercourse.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have just received this important document—the comment in our next.

BUENOS AYRES, Nov. 4.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA, TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL.

The undersigned minister, secretary of state for foreign affairs, of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, especially authorized by his government, has the honour to address his excellency the minister for foreign affairs of the empire of Brazil, to inform him, that the inhabitants of the eastern province having recovered, by their own efforts, the liberty of their territory, occupied by the arms of his Imperial Majesty, and after having installed a regular government for the administration of this province, have solemnly declared the nullity of the acts by which it was pretended to incorporate that province with the empire of Brazil, and, in consequence, have expressed, “that their general, constant, and decided wish was, for the union with the other provinces of La Plata, to which it always belonged by the most sacred ties that the world knows.”

The general congress of the United Provinces, to which this declaration was submitted, cannot, without injustice, decline to make use of a right which never was disputable, nor, without dishonour and imprudence, abandon to their fate an armed, brave, and irritated people, who would be capable of the greatest extremities in defence of their liberties. For this reason, in its sittings of the 25th of October last, it decreed—

“That in conformity with the uniform wish of the provinces of the state, and of that which was deliberately expressed by the eastern province, by the lawful organ of its representatives, on the day of the 25th of August of the present year, the congress, in

the name of the people, whom it represents, acknowledges it as *de facto* reincorporated with the republic of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, to which it has by right belonged, and desires to belong."

By this solemn declaration the general government is bound to provide for the defence and security of the eastern province. It will fulfil its obligations by all the means in its power, and accelerate by them the evacuation of the only two points still held by the troops of his Imperial Majesty.

The undersigned is at the same time authorized to declare, that in this new situation the government of the United Provinces retains the same spirit of moderation and justice which serves as the basis of its policy, and which has directed the attempts that it has hitherto repeated in vain, to negotiate amicably the restoration of the eastern province, and of which it will give fresh proof whenever its dignity permits. That at all events it will not attack, except to defend and obtain the restitution of the points still occupied, confining its pretensions to preserve the integrity of the territory, to guarantee for the future the inviolability of its boundaries against force and seduction.

In this state of things, and after having made known to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs of the empire of Brazil the intentions and desires of the government of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, it remains to be added, that it will entirely depend on the will of his Imperial Majesty to establish a peace, which is infinitely valuable to the interests of the neighbouring states, and indeed of the whole continent. The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed)

MANUEL JOSE GARCIA.

To his excellency Senor Luiz Jose Carvalho e Mello, minister for foreign affairs of the empire of Brazil.

As the late Brazilian treaty has not yet been ratified by the British government, we have omitted its insertion, but as soon as that event takes place, we will present it to our readers.

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